

The Baroque Effect: Architecture and Art History in Berlin, 1886-1900

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores the rich interplay between architecture and art historical research that emerged in Germany in the final decades of the nineteenth century through the rediscovery of the Baroque. The close connection during these years between the establishment of the Baroque as an independent architectural style within the young field of *Kunstwissenschaft*, the burgeoning interest in Baroque space and the mechanics of perception in psychological aesthetics, and the appearance of the Baroque in many of the most important architectural projects of the late nineteenth century made the style a flashpoint for far-reaching debates concerning the roles of art history and architecture in a period marked by profound transformations. Focusing on the reception of the Baroque in Berlin, this dissertation examines the important role of the style in attempts by architects to reexamine their discipline in the context of historicism, the unprecedented growth of the metropolis, and the complex and often conflicting array of regional and national conceptions of identity that accompanied the political development of the German Empire. Through a series of case studies documenting the remarkable interplay of art history and architectural practice in Berlin from the mid-1880's to the turn of the twentieth century, the dissertation traces the emergence of the “*NeuBarock*” (“New Baroque”).

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Introduction

Defining the Baroque

Perhaps someone will one day write a history of the *Neubarock* in Germany.

Cornelius Gurlitt, *Zum Wesen des Barock*¹

In the forward to his 1889 book *Das Barock- und Rococo-Ornament Deutschlands*, the architect, art historian, and critic Cornelius Gurlitt provided a dramatic assessment of the reception of the Baroque in Germany: “Baroque and Rococo! How much it has been written about, how bitterly it has been loathed, how keenly every orthodox aesthete has believed that they had to express the correctness of their own views by giving the boot to it – and how little it has been studied.”² With eighty photographic plates documenting the decorative details of buildings from Munich to Berlin, the publication was one of the first attempts to resuscitate Germany’s late-seventeenth and eighteenth century architectural heritage. Gurlitt proclaimed that no other country in the world could compare to Germany in the richness of its Baroque monuments. Moreover, despite its repression by art scholars, the style had never been forgotten by the German public at large. The same palaces in Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony that guide books described as “senselessly ornate” (“*sinnlos überladen*”)

¹ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung,” *Berliner Architekturwelt*, 14 (1911): 82.

² Cornelius Gurlitt, *Das Barock- und Rococo-Ornament Deutschlands*. (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1889), np.

were received by the public with undivided admiration.³ The faithful continued to stream to the “*verzopften*” churches of Germany’s Catholic areas. In an attempt to reconnect popular sentiment with art historical research, Gurlitt pleaded, “The time of hatred is over. Now the time of appreciation begins.”⁴

Only six years later, in the preface to the second edition of the book, Gurlitt reported that his project had served its purpose. If his original idea for the publication was met with suspicion, art historians now understood the style according to its own terms. At the same time, the Baroque had infiltrated the studios of craftsmen and architects. It was again a fixture on the facades of German cities. Gurlitt announced, “The Baroque and Rococo have once again made their triumphal procession through Germany... Our people (*Volk*) have recaptured a piece of their art history.”⁵

Although Gurlitt had scored a decisive victory in restoring the reputation of the Baroque, this did not mean that scholars were in agreement about what the term actually meant. At the end of his 1912 essay “*Zum Wesen des Barock*,” Gurlitt compared the style to a liver sausage. He explained, “The concept ‘*Leberwurst*’ encompasses in itself numerous possibilities... When, however, the mixture is not put into a casing and when there is no liver in it, then it is no longer a *Leberwurst*. A definite boundary is recognizable.”⁶ According to Gurlitt, this did not hold strong when extended to the Baroque. After almost fifteen years of intensive engagement with the topic by art historians, the style’s broad chronological span and formal heterogeneity continued to

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Cornelius Gurlitt, “*Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung*,” 249.

frustrate any attempt at pinpointing its essence. The Baroque's stylistic relationships to the Late Renaissance on one end and to the Rococo on the other were still a matter of confusion. Similarly, the pathways of influence from one country to another that shaped the style's international development had not been adequately fixed. "We know what liver and casing is," Gurlitt concluded, "but we still don't know in a clear and simple way what is Baroque."⁷ A similar sentiment would later be expressed by Wolfgang Stechow when he claimed in an essay on art historical definitions of the Baroque, "We were the first to use the term, but we were also the first to make a mess of it."⁸

Gurlitt's comment came in a long review of publications on Baroque architecture that had emerged since the groundbreaking appearance of his own *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* in 1887.⁹ In its discussion of over twenty books on the style by leading scholars, the review served at one level as an apologia for the perceived shortcomings of his first attempts to define the Baroque.¹⁰ Gurlitt's essay also provided a

⁷ Gurlitt, "Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung," 249.

⁸ He continued, "What is more, we have passed the mess on to other disciplines. We have not even now seriously tried to formulate a policy to regulate our own usage." Wolfgang Stechow, "Definitions of the Baroque in the Visual Arts," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 5, no. 2 (December 1946): 110.

⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887). Together with his 1888 *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo, und des Klassicismus in Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England* and his 1889 *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, Gurlitt's book on the Italian Baroque was part of an influential series on Renaissance and Baroque architectural history edited by Gurlitt, Jacob Burckhardt, and Wilhelm Lübke. The series was published under the title *Geschichte der neueren Baukunst*. The other volumes of the series were Jacob Burckhardt's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* (1891), Wilhelm Lübke's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Deutschland* (1882), Lübke's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich* (1885), Otto Schubert's *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (1908), Paul Klopfer's *Von Palladio bis Schinkel: Eine Charakteristik der Baukunst des Klassizismus* (1911), and Albrecht Haupt's *Geschichte der Renaissance in Spanien und Portugal* (1927).

¹⁰ The books covered by Gurlitt in the review were Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (1888); Albert Ilg, *Die Fischer von Erlach: Leben und Werke Joh. Bernh. Fischers von Erlach, des Vaters* (1895); August Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur* (1897); J. Strzygowski, *Das Wesen des Barock bei Raffael und Corregio* (1898); August Schmarsow, *Plastik, Malerei und Reliefkunst in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis untersucht* (1899); Erich Haenel, *Spätgotik und*

detailed overview of the widely varying approaches to the subject taken by art historians in the intervening years. From arguments for the Baroque's essential connection to the German character or religious determinants to investigations into the style's formal effects, the array of methodologies employed in German-language scholarship gave the sense that perhaps the only unifying characteristic of the style was its very malleability.¹¹ It was this pliability, however, that provided art historians with a powerful discursive field in which to debate the "essence" of their own young discipline. Efforts to pin down the elusive underpinnings of Baroque expression forced scholars to grapple with art history's intellectual boundaries and methodological approaches.

Gurlitt's review was, however, written for the popular journal *Berliner Architekturwelt*. In other words, it was primarily directed at architects. In addition to standing as a monument to the style's role in a crucial period in the history of *Kunstwissenschaft*, the review demonstrated the place of Baroque research at the very heart of late-nineteenth century architectural discourse. During Gurlitt's exploration of the Baroque in the 1880's, architecture was also in a stage of critical self-examination. Just as art historians debated whether the Baroque stood for the last gasp of the Renaissance or the beginning of an altogether new development, the style's reception by

Renaissance (1899); Stanislao Frascchetti, *Il Bernini, la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo* (1900); Josef Durm, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien* (1903); Wilhelm Lübke and Max Semrau, *Die Kunst der Barockzeit und das Rokoko* (1905); Hans Willich, *Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola* (1906); Joseph Braun, *Die belgischen Jesuitkirchen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kampfes zwischen Gotik und Renaissance* (1907); Otto Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien* (1908); Zdenek Wirth, *Barockni gotika v. Cechách v. XVIII a. i. polovizi XIX století* (1908); Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (1908); P. Albert Kuhn, *Allgemeine Kunst-Geschichte* (1909); Hans Tietze, *Wiener Gotik im XVIII Jahrhundert* (1909); Willy Heinemann, *Die Villenbauten des Andrea Palladio* (1909); Joseph Braun, *Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten* (1908); Fritz Burger, *Die Villen des Andrea Palladio* (1910); Konrad Escher, *Barock und Klassizismus: studien zur Geschichte der Architektur Roms* (1910).

¹¹ The confusion surrounding the definition of the Baroque is also evident in a 1924 book by the art historian Ludwig Lang. Intended as an introduction to the subject for the general public, it was simply entitled *Was ist Barock?* Ludwig Lang, *Was ist Barock?* (Montana-Verlag, 1924).

architects coincided with a widespread feeling that their own period represented a critical “*Übergangstadium*”, or “transitional stage.”

In the years covered by this dissertation, architects found themselves at the end of a cycle of stylistic revivals that had dominated architectural thinking and practice in Germany for much of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the unprecedented growth of the metropolis, the introduction of new building technologies, and the array of regional and national conceptions of identity that accompanied the political development of the German Empire challenged architects to rethink the nature of their profession in the face of profound transformations. Focusing on the rich interplay between architecture and Baroque research that took place during the 1880’s and 1890’s in Berlin, where these forces crystallized with particular intensity, this dissertation reconstructs the complex and often contradictory ways in which the “rediscovery” of the style became the focus of far-reaching debates concerning architecture’s place within modernity.

In its emphasis on the synthetic nature of Baroque debate at the end of the nineteenth century, this project seeks to enrich existing literature that treats art historical and architectural interest in the style as autonomous phenomena. In the past decade, the rediscovery of the Baroque in art history has itself been rediscovered. With significant articles and books published in recent years on art historians such as Gurlitt, Albert Ilg, Heinrich Wölfflin, August Schmarsow, and Alois Riegl, Baroque historiography has emerged as a fruitful topic of scholarly exchange on an international level.¹² In

¹² A more complete bibliography for each of these figures will be provided as they appear in the following chapters. In the present context, a representative selection of recent publications will suffice. For general accounts of the Baroque in this period, see Andreas Kreul, ed., *Barock als Aufgabe*. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005); Ferdinand van Ingen and Klaus Garber, eds., *Europäische Barock-Rezeption* (Harrassowitz, 1991). For writings on Gurlitt, see Evonne Levy, “Cornelius Gurlitt als ‘Barockmann’,” in *Cornelius Gurlitt (1850 bis 1938): Sechs Jahrzehnte Zeit- und Familiengeschichte in Briefen*, ed. Matthias Lienert, (Dresden: Thelem, 2008): 45-54. For Ilg, see Friedrich Polleroß, ed., *Fischer von Erlach und die*

publications and conference sessions, scholars have made great strides in charting the multifaceted *Nachleben* of the Baroque with respect to the larger political, cultural, and disciplinary contexts in which late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century art history evolved.¹³ At the same time, scholars have begun to devote attention to the important links between art historical accounts of the Baroque in the 1880's and 1890's and the development of theories of perception and "empathy" in psychological aesthetics.¹⁴ All of these efforts have been aided by recent English-language translations of important works such as Alois Riegl's *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*.¹⁵

What has remained largely overlooked, however, is the crucial role of late-nineteenth century architecture in the story of the rediscovery of the Baroque. The relationship between art history and architectural practice during this period moved simultaneously in two directions. At the same time that art historians provided architects

Wiener Barocktradition. (Wien: Böhlau, 1995). For Wölfflin, see Martin Warnke, "On Heinrich Wölfflin," *Representations*, 27 (Summer 1989): 172-187; Frederic Schwartz, "Cathedrals and Shoes: Concepts of Style in Wölfflin and Adorno," *New German Critique*, no. 76 (Winter 1999): 3-48; Daniel Adler, "Painterly Politics: Wölfflin, Formalism and German Academic Culture, 1885-1915," *Art History*, 27, no. 3 (June 2004): 431-456; Alina Payne, "Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *fin de siècle*," *RES: Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology*, 54/55 (Spring/Autumn 2008): 168-189. For publications on Riegl, see Matthew Rampley, "Subjectivity and Modernism: Riegl and the Rediscovery of the Baroque," in *Framing Formalism: Riegl's Work*, ed. Richard Woodfield (Amsterdam: G+B Arts, 2001), 265-290; Alina Payne, "Beyond Kunstwollen: Alois Riegl and the Baroque," in Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), 1-33. For a synthetic account of the work of these art historians, see Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

¹³ Recent conferences and conference sessions dealing with issues surrounding the art historical reception of the Baroque include: "Barock und Moderne", 2. Internationaler Barocksommerkurs, Bibliothek Werner Oechslin, 2001 (organized by Werner Oechslin); "Rethinking the Baroque", University of York, 2004 (organized by Helen Hills); "Historiographies of the Baroque, 1880's-1945", 64th Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2011 (organized by Evonne Levy).

¹⁴ See, for example: Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou, *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*. (Santa Monica: The Getty Center, 1994); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in German, 1871-1918*. Dissertation. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 2007).

¹⁵ Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, trans. Andrew Hopkins and Arnold Witte (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010).

with the raw material for their revival of the Baroque across German cityscapes, the rapid emergence of the Neo-Baroque itself lent a sense of urgency to art history's engagement with the style.¹⁶ Alena Janatková's writing on the reception of the Baroque in Prague and Eva-Maria Landwehr's engagement with the revival of the style in Bavarian church architecture have made important strides in reconstructing the interdisciplinary give and take between art history and the Neo-Baroque.¹⁷ There is still no book that deals with the broad sweep of nineteenth century Baroque reception in German or European architecture.¹⁸

In many ways, the relatively meager interest in the architectural reception of the Baroque in Germany reflects the more general historiographic fate of German late-historicism. In his survey *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Henry Russell Hitchcock characterized Austrian and German buildings alongside projects like Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra, Joseph Poelaert's Palace of Justice in Brussels, and Giuseppe Calderini's Palace of Justice in Rome as examples of what he calls the "International Second Empire Mode."¹⁹ Hitchcock's characterization of these buildings

¹⁶ Martin Warnke has pointed to the role of the Neo-Baroque as a challenge to art historians. See Martin Warnke, "Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs in der Kunstgeschichte," in Klaus Garber, ed., *Europäische Barock-Rezeption* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 1207-1223.

¹⁷ See Alena Janatková, *Barockrezeption zwischen Historismus und Moderne. Die Architekturdiskussion in Prag 1890-1914* (Zürich: gta Verlag, 2000); Eva-Maria Landwehr, *Neubarock. Architektur und Ausstattungskonzepte süddeutscher Sakralbauten um 1900* (Tönning: Der Andere Verlag, 2003).

¹⁸ Apart from occasional monographs on more popular architects such as Friedrich von Thiersch or Paul Wallot, general information on the Neo-Baroque was until recently most easily found in the context of surveys on the theme of *Spät-Historismus*. See, for example Kurt Milde, *Neorenaissance in der deutschen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Dresden: VEB Verlag, 1981); Valentin. W. Hammerschmidt, *Anspruch und Ausdruck in der Architektur des späten Historismus in Deutschland, 1860-1914* (P. Lang, 1985); Dieter Dolgner, *Historismus: Deutsche Baukunst, 1815-1900* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1993).

¹⁹ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), 224.

together as a late and pompous modulation of historical eclecticism, still a frequent position half a century later in writings on the period, fails to acknowledge both the experimental nature of the *Neubarock* and the differences between Austrian and German developments and their continental counterparts.

Similarly, in the context of Berlin, the negative connotations of the label “*Wilhelminischer Barock*” has shaped art historical writing on the subject. In the introduction to his 1979 book *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur*, the architectural historian Julius Posener noted that the idea of Wilhelmine architecture brought with it associations with “the ‘parvenu,’ boastfulness, tastelessness, and ostentation.”²⁰ The Neo-Baroque had taken on the negative connotations originally prescribed to the historical Baroque. Thanks in part to the groundbreaking work of Posener himself, the contours of architectural debate in late-nineteenth century Berlin have begun to be reexamined. Following a more general return in architectural history to the built heritage of cities such as Vienna and Dresden at the turn of the twentieth century, the work of Alfred Messel and Paul Wallot has received recent attention.²¹ Studies of the important place of the Baroque within Berlin’s architectural development

²⁰ Julius Posener. *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur: Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II* (München and New York: Prestel, 1979), 11. Posener’s book was republished in 1995.

²¹ In 2008 and 2009, Messel was the subject of an exhibition, a series of colloquia, and two books. See Elke Blauert and Hans-Dieter Nägelke, eds., *Alfred Messel, 1853-1909: Vionar der Grossstadt* (Berlin: Edition Minerva Hermann Franung, 2009); Artur Gärtner, Robert Habel, and Hans-Dieter Nägelke, *Alfred Messel (1853-1909) – ein Führer zu seinen Bauten* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2010); Robert Habel, *Alfred Messels Wertheimbauten in Berlin: Der Beginn der modernen Architektur in Deutschland* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008). Walter Curt Behrendt’s pioneering book on Messel was republished in 1998 with an essay by Karl Scheffler and an afterword by Fritz Neumeyer. See Walter Curt Behrendt, *Alfred Messel* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1998). For recent analyses of Wallot, see Michael S. Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Parlament Denkmal Symbol* (Berlin: bre.bra verlag, 1995); Godehard Hoffmann, *Architektur für die Nation. Der Reichstag und die Staatsbauten des Deutschen Kaiserreichs, 1871-1918* (Köln: Dumont, 2000).

during these years, however, have remained almost exclusively concerned with Wilhelm II's appropriation of the style after his rise to the throne in 1888.²²

Rediscovering the Baroque

An overview of late-nineteenth century Baroque research and of the more general revival of the style in German cities during these years helps set the stage for the reception of the style in Berlin. In an 1850 fresco, the painter Wilhelm von Kaulbach succinctly illustrated the Baroque's connotations prior to its resuscitation three decades later. **[Fig. 0.1]** Originally installed on the exterior of the *Neue Pinakothek* in Munich, the mural was entitled *Der Kampf gegen der Zopf*. The piece depicts a fierce battle between Classicism and the Baroque.²³ The artistic products of the Baroque era are personified in the form of a howling three-headed monster. The creature's periwigs, academic medals, and general physiognomy are meant to evoke the foreign menace of the French. On the right, the monster is charged by the Nazarene artists Peter von Cornelius, Johann Friedrich Overbeck, and Philipp Veit, who ride together on the back of a Pegasus. To the left, Jakob Carstens, Betel Thorvaldsen, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann approach the beast under the protection of Minerva. As Winckelmann throws his writing ink onto the despised creature, the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel can be seen at the far left of the image emerging from the marshes of Berlin to join his classicist allies.

²² See, for example, Douglas Klahr, "Wilhelm II's Weisser Saal and its Doppelthron," *German History*, 27, no. 4 (2009): 490-513; Douglas Klahr, *The Kaiser Builds in Berlin: Expressing National and Dynastic Identity in the Early Building Projects of Wilhelm II* (PhD diss., Brown University, 2002); Jochen Schröder, *Die Baugestalt und das Raumprogramm des Berliner Doms als Spiegel der Ansprüche und Funktionen des Bauherrn Kaiser Wilhelms II* (PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2002).

²³ For discussion of this image, see Martin Warnke, "Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs in der Kunstgeschichte."

As scholars such as Hans Tintelnot, Martin Warnke, and Werner Oechslin have shown in studies of the art historical reception of the style, the Baroque was traditionally suffused within a constellation of terms related to abnormality, foreignness, Catholicism, and aesthetic decline.²⁴ According to a rubric of abnormality, the style was defined not by qualities internal to itself, but rather according to the standards it lacked. In his *Cicerone*, the art historian Jacob Burckhardt famously argued, “Baroque architecture speaks the same language as the Renaissance, but in a wilder dialect.”²⁵ According to Ernst Gombrich, if the Gothic was used in the eighteenth century as a label for the “not-yet-classical” and “barbaric,” the Baroque was equated with the “no-longer-classical” and “degenerate.”²⁶ The style’s connotations of aesthetic and even moral de-disciplining were a frequent refrain. In *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, Friedrich Nietzsche suggested, “The Baroque style appears whenever a great age of art enters its decline, and the demands of the art of classical expression have grown too great.”²⁷

²⁴ See Hans Tintelnot, “Zur Gewinnung unserer Barockbegriffe,” in *Die Kunstformen des Barockzeitalters*, ed. Rudolf Stamm (Berlin: Francke Verlag, 1956), 13-91; Martin Warnke, “Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs in der Kunstgeschichte,” 1207-1223; Werner Oechslin, “‘Barock’ – Zu den negativen Kriterien der Begriffsbestimmung in klassizistischer und späteren Zeit,” in *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, ed. Klaus Garber, *Europäische Barock-Rezeption* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 1223-1254. The work of establishing the history of art historical accounts of the Baroque was already the subject of a 1927 dissertation. See Else Padtberg, *Die Beurteilung der Barock-Architektur: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Methode* (PhD diss., 1927).

²⁵ “Die Barockbaukunst spricht dieselbe Sprache, wie die Renaissance, aber einen verwilderten Dialekt davon.” Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (Basel: Schweighauserische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1860), 368.

²⁶ E. H. Gombrich, “Norm and Form: The Stylistic Categories of Art History and their Origins in Renaissance Ideals,” in E. H. Gombrich, *Norm & Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London and New York: Phaidon, 1971), 84. This is evident in the Hegelian philosopher Karl Rosenkranz’s alignment of the Baroque with the categories of the obscene and bizarre in his book *Asthetik des Haesslichen* (*Aesthetic of the Ugly*).

²⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 471.

The implications of these associations for art historical scholarship were clearly articulated by Alois Riegl in the opening pages of his book *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*.²⁸ He noted that the meaning traditionally ascribed to the style was clear – “strange, unfamiliar, extraordinary.”²⁹ “The extraordinary in antique and Renaissance art seizes us,” he explained, “but in the Baroque we are appalled by it, and we perceive it as disturbing or as a troublesome confusion.”³⁰ According to Riegl, the oppositions that delimited the discursive boundaries of the Renaissance and Baroque were shadowed by a closely related topos involving artistic traditions north and south of the Alps. In addition to divisions between the ugly and beautiful, the Baroque was marked by distinctions between “self” and “other.”

Riegl noted that when the first chairs in art history were established at German universities in the 1840s, the only styles that were represented in instruction were Classical antiquity and the Italian Renaissance. Even in more recent art historical journals, he observed, young researchers occupied themselves primarily with topics from the Italian *quattrocento* and *cinquecento*. Their studies stopped “abruptly after the Renaissance.”³¹ In an attempt to account for this, Riegl suggested that the art of the Italian Renaissance attracted attention precisely because it was foreign. Whereas the Baroque style incorporated deeply engrained northern qualities such as “heightened sensation” and “increased subjective-optical perception”, the Renaissance gave young

²⁸ The book was published posthumously in 1908 from manuscripts of his lectures on the subject at the University of Vienna in 1894-95 and 1901-02.

²⁹ Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, 94.

³⁰ Riegl argued that as opposed to the beauty of Raphael’s figures, the Baroque could be described as “a figure that prays and at the same time bends itself in convulsive movements.” *Ibid.*, 94.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

scholars the impression of discovering something that indigenous traditions could not offer. It was “the furthest from specific Germanic culture.”³²

The alignment of the Baroque with Germanic modes of expression was a frequent gesture in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Riegl’s assessment of the underrepresentation of Baroque research was, however, somewhat misleading. By the time of his lectures, the Baroque had become a legitimate subject for art historical enquiry. Rather than a degeneration from the order of the Renaissance and a troublesome product of foreign powers and faiths, the style was increasingly perceived as an independent, if not positive, period of artistic production. What Riegl called the “global importance” of Italian Baroque architecture was an art historical fact.³³ Already in 1873, for example, Adolf von Zahn spoke of a nascent tendency amongst both artists and scholars towards the “rescue” (“*Rettung*”) of the style.³⁴ Reaching full steam in the 1880’s, art historians began to engage with the full scope of Baroque architecture across Europe.

This transformation can be clearly seen in the tireless work of Gurlitt, who was quick to point out his role as an early settler on the virgin territory of Baroque scholarship.³⁵ In the personal account that opens his article for *Berliner Architekturwelt*, he explained:

³² Ibid., 96.

³³ Ibid., 96.

³⁴ Adolf von Zahn, “Barock, Rococo und Zopf.” *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*. 8 (1873): 1-11, 33-44.

³⁵ If Gurlitt’s work would soon be perceived as conceptually insufficient and even inaccurate, it was nevertheless acknowledged by Riegl, Wölfflin, Giedion, and other leading scholars as preparing much of the soil out of which the field would quickly grow.

It has now been 25 years since I was in Rome in search of baroque buildings - in other words, with a city map in hand, consigned together to the streets of the Eternal City in order to search for something to find. I had no guide, either printed or human. Only a very small number of buildings had been photographed, and the Kodak was not yet invented. Apart from the books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were no surveys of any sort. I had Jacob Burckhardt's concluding chapter of *Cicerone* in my hand. I met for the evening pint with art scholars and artists who made themselves quite merry over the crazy fellow who came to Rome in order to study the ugliest that was there: the "Zopf!"³⁶

Gurlitt expressed a similar sentiment in a 1926 autobiographical essay. "I had to ask around," he recollected, "where I could find something worth seeing... I would listen attentively if an art scholar or architect warned me emphatically in front of a building that it was especially hideous (*abscheulich*): I could then be sure to have come across a masterpiece."³⁷

At the same time that his comments consciously invoked the feeling of close and even dangerous proximity to an architectural "Other," they showed a desire to incorporate the Baroque into a story about the German self. As Gurlitt explained on multiple occasions, his interest in the style began in many ways through his engagement with the architectural heritage of his hometown of Dresden. In his autobiography, he recollected, "I began to occupy myself in detail with the Dresden Baroque. Soon,

³⁶ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung," 40.

³⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Cornelius Gurlitt," in *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, ed. Johannes Jahn (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1924), 9.

however, I realized that one could not be capable of appreciating this without an acquaintance with the German Baroque... Step by step, I wanted to go further.”³⁸ After chasing down the permutations of the Baroque across Italy, France, Belgium, and England, Gurlitt would ultimately return to the development of the style in Germany with the publication of his *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland* in 1889. He returned again and again in his writings to buildings such as Georg Bähr’s *Frauenkirche* in Dresden and Andreas Schlüter’s Royal Palace in Berlin. In these projects, he discovered a sense of individuality and creativity that resonated deeply with his conception of a Protestant-centered German artistic spirit. Whether in architecture or in Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’s ideas for reforming the German language at the end of the seventeenth century, Gurlitt considered modern Germany itself to be a product of the Baroque period.³⁹

Gurlitt was not alone in articulating the “*heimisch*” quality of the Baroque in these years. His work unfolded alongside the research of the Viennese art historian Albert Ilg.⁴⁰ Scholars such as Alphons Lhotsky, Elisabeth Springer, and Andreas Kreul have drawn due attention to Ilg’s important contributions to Baroque historiography.⁴¹ The most

³⁸ Ibid., 9.

³⁹ For Gurlitt’s discussion of the relation between architecture and the German language, see Cornelius Gurlitt, *August der Starke: Ein Fürstenleben aus der Zeit des deutschen Barock* (Sibyllen Verlag, 1924). He also addressed the subject in his *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*. Dirk De Meyer has recently explored connections between architecture, language, and nationality in Gurlitt’s writings with respect to his discussion of Habsburg provinces. See Dirk De Meyer, “Writing Architectural History and Building a Czechoslovak Nation, 1887-1918,” in *Nation, Style, Modernism*, ed. Wolf Tegethoff (München: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 2006), 75-93.

⁴⁰ Indeed, when Gurlitt decided to write his history of the Baroque in the mid-1880s, he made sure to pay a visit to Ilg, who had already been engaged with the topic for over a decade.

⁴¹ See Elisabeth Springer, “Biographische Skizze zu Albert Ilg (1847-1896),” in *Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Barocktradition*, ed. Friedrich Polleroß (Wien, Köln, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 319-344; Andreas Kreul, “Zwischen Pathos und Neuordnung. Die Fischer von Erlach-Monographien von Albert

thoroughgoing subject of Ilg's research was Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Starting in the mid-1870s, Ilg devoted himself to reconstructing the life and work of who he called the "most important artist of his Fatherland" ("*grössten Künstler seines Vaterlandes*").⁴² The ultimate fruit of this labor was the publication in 1895 of a monumental biography of Fischer von Erlach.⁴³ The polemical nature of Ilg's embrace of the Austrian Empire's seventeenth- and eighteenth century architectural heritage was nowhere more programmatically expressed, however, than in his 1880 epistle entitled "*Die Zukunft des Barockstils*" ("The Future of the Baroque Style").⁴⁴ Published under the evocative pseudonym "Bernini the Younger", the piece took the form of an extended defense of the Baroque in the areas of architecture and the applied arts. Ilg argued that the Baroque's important role in the Habsburg Empire's glorious past made it a key to the present day representational needs of Austria-Hungary.⁴⁵ For Ilg, Vienna's Baroque-era

Ilg," in *Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Barocktradition*, 389-404; Alphons Lhotsky, "Albert Ilg 1847-1896," *Monfort: Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Heimat- und Volkskunde Voralbergs*, 1 (1946). Lhotsky's essay was republished in: Alphons Lhotsky, *Aufsätze und Vorträge* (Wien, 1974), 277-302.

⁴² Albert Ilg, *Leben und Werke Joh. Bernh. Fischer's von Erlach des Vaters* (Wien: Carl Konegen, 1895), vii. Ilg planned a second volume that would have treated the work of Fischer von Erlach's son Joseph Emanuel starting with the design of the Royal Library in Vienna. Due to his death at the age of forty-nine in 1896, this section would remain in the form of hand-written notes, preserved today in the Ilg archive at the *Stadt- und Landesbibliothek* in Vienna. For more information on this second project, see Andreas Kreul, "Zwischen Pathos und Neuordnung: Die Fischer von Erlach-Monographien von Albert Ilg," op. cit.

⁴³ In the forward to the publication, Ilg unabashedly declared that his work constituted no less than "the most important book in the area of Austrian Baroque research." (Ibid., vii). In his own book on the architect, Hans Sedlmayr would later describe Ilg's work as "the foundation of any work on Fischer." See Hans Sedlmayr, *Fischer von Erlach der Ältere* (München: R. Piper, 1925), 4.

⁴⁴ Bernini dem Jüngern (Albert Ilg), *Die Zukunft des Barockstils: Ein Kunstepistel* (Wien: Manz'sche k. k. Volverlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1880).

⁴⁵ In later publications such as his contribution on the Baroque to the 1893 book *Kunstgeschichtliche Charakterbilder aus Österreich-Ungarn* (*Art Historical Character Images from Austria-Hungary*), Ilg's conception for the style emerged as a post-*Ausgleich* art historical narrative of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. In this context, even the birthplace of Fischer von Erlach was an important subject of research. It was quite literally front-page news. As Andreas Kreul has shown, two local newspapers in the town of Graz published long notices by Ilg in 1886 announcing his discovery that Fischer von Erlach was born in Graz, not in Vienna or Prague as was often conjectured. "After almost ten years of research and

streets were no less than a living manifestation of the Austrian spirit. He proclaimed, “The Austrian spirit is the Baroque facade come to life: cheerful and fresh and always smiling, never boring, full of caprice and good things, an entire cluster of surprises.”⁴⁶

The Heterogeneity of *Heimat* and the Emergence of the Neo-Baroque

As mentioned above, one of the things that most challenged art historians in their attempts to define the Baroque was its formal heterogeneity. This was especially true in the context of German architecture.⁴⁷ From the lusciously decorated surfaces of the Bavarian pilgrimage church to the comparatively stark formality of the Prussian palace, the architectural heritage of the Baroque manifested itself as a patchwork of countless formal inflections that reflected the same complex interplay of cultures, political allegiances, and religious faiths that shaped the historical evolution of Germany itself. This led Ilg to describe the German Baroque as “a proteus-like appearance, a mosaic of

continually failed efforts establishing the true hometown,” Ilg proclaimed, “I have now become sure that the famous architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, the ingenious designer of the *Karlskirche* and so many of the palaces and churches of Vienna, Prague, Salzburg, etc., is a native *Grazer*.” By establishing beyond a doubt that Fischer von Erlach was indeed an Austrian by birth, Ilg could claim him as a legitimate foundation for the future development of architecture. See Kreul, “Zwischen Pathos und Neuordnung: Die Fischer von Erlach-Monographien von Albert Ilg.”

⁴⁶ Bernini dem Jüngern (Albert Ilg), *Die Zukunft des Barockstils: Ein Kunstepistel*. For an alternative account of the Baroque written by an important figure in the development of the decorative arts in Vienna, see Jakob von Falke, “Wesen und Grenzen des Barockstiles,” in *Geschichte des Geschmacks im Mittelalter und andere Studien auf dem Gebiete von Kunst und Kultur* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur, 1892), 211-242.

⁴⁷ In the introduction to a small picture book on the Baroque city in Germany, Paul Zucker suggested in 1927, “The Baroque encompasses such an enormous margin that it is at best seen as nothing more than a frame, a riverbed between whose banks two streams flow, occasionally in parallel and occasionally dammed into eddies so that the contents of the one pass over into the other.” Paul Zucker, *Deutsche Barockstädte* (Leipzig: E. O. Naumann, 1927), 5.

the most colorful composition.”⁴⁸ In 1947, the critic Karl Scheffler explained, “There developed an ecclesiastical Baroque, as well as a princely and a middle-class (*bürgerlicher*) one, and each landscape cultivated its own variation – there was an Austrian, Bavarian, Franconian, Saxon, Prussian, Rhenish, Swabian, and a Westphalian style; a Viennese, Berlin, Würzburg, Munich, Bamberg, Dresden, and Prague Baroque.”⁴⁹

As the Baroque traditions of Germany began to be reassessed in the years following the birth of the Empire in 1871, art historians dedicated themselves to sorting out this heterogeneous array. By the mid-1880’s, a wave of publications began to document the full scope of Germany’s Baroque heritage. These included topographical histories, regional inventories, monographs on individual monuments, and scholarly journal articles devoted to establishing building chronologies and architects’ biographies.

The rediscovery of the style also coincided with the large-scale incorporation of photographic illustrations into books.⁵⁰ In addition to helping pinpoint the overarching characteristics of late-seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture in Germany, these publications called attention to monuments that had been previously overlooked due to historical neglect and were now at risk of destruction. The Palace at Bruchsal provides an early example of this intersection between art historical documentation and preservation.

The palace was designed beginning around 1720 and served as the official residence of

⁴⁸ Albert Ilg, “Die Barocke,” in *Kunstgeschichtliche Charakterbilder aus Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Albert Ilg (F. Tempsky, 1893), 267.

⁴⁹ Karl Scheffler, *Verwandlungen des Barocks in der Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Gallus-Verlag, 1947), 62.

⁵⁰ Especially important, in this respect, were plate books such as Robert Dohnme’s *Das Königliche Schloss zu Brühl am Rhein*, Otto Lessing’s *Schloss Ansbach*, Richard Streiter’s *Die Schlösser zu Schleissheim und Nymphenburg*, and Cornelius Gurlitt’s *Das Barock/Rococo-Ornament Deutschlands*. In their efforts to record monuments accurately and to convey more successfully the Baroque’s challenging formal effects, art historians were attracted to the crispness and increased tonal range made possible by improvements in photographic equipment and processing techniques.

the Bishop of Speyer. The building housed a remarkable staircase conceived beginning in 1731 by Balthasar Neumann. In 1869, after it had already served a variety of functions, plans were made to transform the structure's monumental *corps de logis* into a seminary.⁵¹ Many of the palace's most impressive rooms were to be irreparably defaced through the insertion of new dividing walls. The chapel and Watteau Cabinet were even slated for a new function as locations for toilets. Having heard about the endangered palace, the painter G. M. Eckert visited the crumbling edifice in 1871 and took a series of haunting photographs of its degraded interiors. As images of the palace began to circulate, articles by art historians and critics drew attention to the building's artistic and cultural importance. In an 1871 essay for the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, for example, the art historian Alfred Woltmann declared that Bruchsal was "just as important to its era as Freiburg Cathedral is to the Gothic and Heidelberg Palace is to the Renaissance."⁵² Written just as Germany secured victory over France, Woltmann's article showed that the palace had become a matter of national patrimony.⁵³

The Baroque was not only a fragment of Germany's collective memory. It was also a stimulus for the building tasks of the present. The recovery of the style in art

⁵¹ Following the death of the margravine Amalie von Baden in 1832, the building went through a series of different uses, including a military barracks and hospital (for which the concert room was eventually arranged to house beds), the headquarters of the local infantry battalion, an archive, and even, in 1885, the location of a balloon launch for the aeronaut Karl Securius. Already in 1873, a fire inspection revealed that the roof over the middle section of the palace could no longer keep water out of the building.

⁵² Alfred Woltmann, "Das Schloß in Bruchsal," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 6 (1871): 236-240. Woltmann pointed out that despite the fact that the palace was located on a frequently traveled road and could even be seen from the nearby train station, it remained forgotten. It had even been left out of the otherwise hefty section on eighteenth century palaces in Wilhelm Lübke's popular history of architecture.

⁵³ In addition to drawing the patriotic attention of art historians and members of the general public, these efforts reached none other than the King of Prussia and King of Bavaria themselves. Both made visits to the palace. Ludwig II reportedly declared in a thick dialect, "This is genuine Rococo, for which I must tip my hat!"

history went hand in hand with the emergence of Neo-Baroque projects in cities across the Empire. Articles on the Baroque appeared frequently in leading architectural journals such as the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* and the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, the main organ of the Prussian building department. These writings directly aided architects in their application of the Baroque to the new theaters, department stores, apartment buildings, train stations, court houses, and governmental buildings that arose in step with Germany's explosive growth in the years after unification. Whereas only a decade earlier art historians used illustrated volumes on the Baroque to save monuments threatened with destruction, new photographic plate books appeared documenting the wide spread of the Neo-Baroque. In the series *Moderne Wiener Barockfacaden*, for example, recently constructed buildings in the Baroque style were depicted in the middle of the commercial signage, power lines, and pedestrian traffic of the city.⁵⁴ [Fig. 0.2] The Baroque not only regained favor but had also become "modern."

Of the various historical styles plucked for revival during the course of the nineteenth century, the Baroque was the one that stood freshest in memory. With masterpieces such as Balthasar Neumann's *Vierzehnheiligen* under construction into the 1770's, the style's pulse could still be felt. In reflecting on the rise of the Neo-Baroque in the 1880's, the critic Heinrich Pudor noted, "We have worked in the Baroque style not for two decades, but for two centuries."⁵⁵ Whether seen as temporarily interrupted by the rise of *Klassisizismus* at the end of the eighteenth century or as a continuously developing tradition that had never vanished at all, architects began to embrace the Baroque as a

⁵⁴ *Moderne Wiener Barockfacaden: Eine Sammlung der schönsten, in den letzten Jahren in Wien ausgeführten Bauten dieser Stilrichtung* (Wien: A. Schroll, nd.)

⁵⁵ Heinrich Pudor, "Gedanken über die moderne Architektur," *Der Architekt*, 8 (1902): 14.

cultural fact as elementary to conceptions of self-identity as religious tradition or local styles of talking, dressing, and beer.

In its relation to the idea of “*Bodenständigkeit*,” the revival of the Baroque at the end of the nineteenth century reflected a sense of particularism within the broader contours of Prussian-led unification. Just as the historical Baroque itself evolved in Germany along sharply drawn religious and cultural lines, its emergence in the 1880’s as a “national” style was also shaped by the complex crosscurrents arising from the political tensions and *Kulturkämpfe* that distinguished the German Empire’s heterogeneous form of unity. The wide spectrum of architectural languages that emerged in German-speaking lands following the Thirty Years War leant itself to the development of a Neo-Baroque aimed at expressing the *genius loci* of individual regions and cities.⁵⁶ A brief overview of Neo-Baroque production in Vienna, Munich, and Dresden will provide a useful background for the style’s architectural reception in Berlin.

In Vienna, the influence of architects such as Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt never vanished. A front-page story on Neo-Baroque trends in Vienna published in an 1885 edition of the *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* was simply titled “*Noch einmal die Barocke*” (“Once again, the Baroque”).⁵⁷ In the wake of Vienna’s initial expansion during the *Ringstrasse* years, a second *Erweiterung* in the 1870’s and 1880’s introduced a veritable flood of Neo-Baroque apartment buildings,

⁵⁶ Eric Garbeson has written on the connection between art historical investigations of the Baroque and German conceptions of identity at the turn of the twentieth century. See Eric Garbeson, “Baroque Architecture and German National Identity in Art Historical Texts ca. 1900,” In: Andreas Kreul (ed.), *Barock als Aufgabe*, 165-177.

⁵⁷ “Noch einmal die Barocke,” *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*. 2, no. 13 (January 7, 1885). In his *Zukunft des Barockstils*, Ilg argued that the arrival of the Neo-Baroque was nothing new. “We have actually long been Baroque,” he declared.

theaters, and department stores into the city's streets. These buildings sought to conjure up the royal and aristocratic associations of the city's Habsburg past.⁵⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, the recuperation of the style had made such an impact that a tour of "Barock-Wien" appearing in an 1897 issue of *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte* claimed that the city had two Baroques – one old and the other new. Spurred on by Ilg, who the article nicknames the "Baroque fanatic" ("*Barockfanatiker*"), Vienna's recent development was the product of the "*Neobarockisten*."⁵⁹ This culminated at the 1900 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, where the Austrian pavilion borrowed directly from Fischer von Erlach's design for the *Winterreitschule* at the *Hofburg*.⁶⁰

Several projects brought architects face to face with Fischer von Erlach's works. Starting as early as 1869, for example, ideas began to emerge for the completion of the unfinished *Michaelertrakt* section of the *Hofburg*.⁶¹ In the 1880's, the architects Karl von Hasenauer and Ferdinand Kirchner submitted competing plans for the project that set off a closely followed debate about which plan remained "truer" to Fischer von Erlach's original scheme.⁶² The legacy of the Viennese Baroque was also a central topic in the

⁵⁸ As Carl Schorske has shown, the city's "*Mietpaläste*" boasted a variety of "ennobling" – and therefore rent-increasing – features taken directly from the stair halls and entry portals of the Baroque-era *Adelspalais*. See Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 24-115.

⁵⁹ Carl von Vincenti, "Barock-Wien," *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*, 1 (1897/98), 209.

⁶⁰ For a description of the pavilion's connection to the Austrian Baroque, see Max Mora, "Oesterreich auf der Weltausstellung," in *Die Pariser Weltausstellung in Wort und Bild*, ed. Georg Malkowsky (Berlin: Kirschhoff & Co., 1900), 241-244.

⁶¹ For a description of this project, see Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), 254-256.

⁶² Hasenauer was also directly involved in the construction of the *Neue Hofburg*, located on the opposite side of the palace complex facing the *Kaisergarten*. Already in Hasenauer and Gottfried Semper's famous 1869 plan for an "Imperial Forum" in the area, a proposed addition to the palace that resonated with the undulating surface of the *Michaelertrakt* can be seen. The *Burgtheater* was another piece of Semper and Hasenauer's original scheme for the Imperial Forum. It was eventually designed and constructed on an

competition held just after the turn of the twentieth century for a new *Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien*. The project was to be located on the *Karlsplatz* directly next to the iconic *Karlskirche*. Entries ranged from the architect Friedrich Schachner's sumptuous Neo-Baroque scheme to the more stripped-down approach of Friedrich Ohmann. The latter envisioned a system of visual approaches, plazas, pedestrian areas, and traffic routes meant to best showcase the church's elevations.⁶³ Otto Wagner's marble-clad and metal bolted scheme was the most controversial entry to the competition.⁶⁴ Rather than reproduce Fischer von Erlach's personal vocabulary, he sought to harmonize his design with the church's general lines. In 1910, Wagner constructed a one-to-one scale model of his façade directly next to the *Karlskirche*. In a cartoon published at the time, a visage of Fischer von Erlach confides to Wagner, "Cheer up, my dear Wagner, I built the *Karlskirche*, and in my time I ruined the image of the city

independent site along the *Ringstrasse* from 1871-1888. While the monumental exterior of this theater struck some observers as a bold mixture of an Italian Renaissance vocabulary with "indigenous traditions and decorational motifs" rooted in the eighteenth century, the opulent interior of the building, designed primarily by Hasenauer after his split with Semper, constituted a more direct recuperation of the Austrian Baroque. For information on the theater, see Em Ranzoni and J. Löwy, *Das K.K. Hofburgtheater in Wien, erbaut von Carl Freiherrn von Hasenauer* (Wien: V. A. Heck, 1890). For a detailed discussion of the tense relationship between Hasenauer and Semper, see Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁶³ In his description of the project, Ohmann argued, "In this composition, the *Karlskirche* appears to be posed in a flat, absolutely orthogonal niche of the plaza, thereby becoming the *Piece de resistance* of the monumental space."

⁶⁴ Wagner's scheme for Karlsplatz is discussed in: Peter Haiko, "The Franz Josef-Stadtmuseum: The Attempt to Implement a Theory of Modern Architecture," in *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993), 53-84. For a more general discussion of Wagner's relation to the building plans of the royal family in Austria, see Renata Kassal-Mikula, "Otto Wagner's Unsuccessful Parallel-Aktion," In: *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity*, 21-52; Werner Oechslin, *Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, and the Road to Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

of Vienna as much as you have. In a hundred years it will seem outstanding to people.”⁶⁵

[Fig. 0.3]

As in Vienna, the emergence of the Neo-Baroque in Dresden was closely related to the city’s self-image as a “*Barockstadt*.”⁶⁶ Buildings such as Daniel Pöppelmann’s Zwinger, Johann Christoph Knöffel’s palace for Heinrich Count Brühl, Georg Bähr’s Protestant *Frauenkirche*, and Gaetano Chiaveri’s Catholic *Hofkirche* lent distinctive shapes to the city’s famous silhouette. They also directly recalled the “*Glanzzeit*” of Augustus the Strong. Following an extensive tour through France and Italy from 1687-89 and his conversion to Catholicism and coronation as King of Poland in 1697, Augustus initiated an ambitious range of city planning schemes, building regulations, and architectural projects in Dresden. According to the art historian Paul Schumann, “an entirely new city rose from the ground up.”⁶⁷

The city’s historical connection to the Baroque lent itself to art historical research. Already in the 1860’s, some of the first writings to address the German Baroque and Rococo in any detail focused on Dresden.⁶⁸ The Zwinger was a frequent topic in these studies. According to Carl Justi, the building was “the first product of an entirely

⁶⁵ “Die Männer von Karlsplatz,” *Die Zeit* (January 9, 1910).

⁶⁶ For general information on the Neo-Baroque in Dresden, see Fritz Löffler, *Das Alte Dresden* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1982), 392-414; Heinz Quinger, “Jugendstil und Neobarock in der Dresdner Architektur um 1900,” in *Bau + Kunst – Kunst + Bau: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Professor Jürgen Paul*, eds. Gilbert Lupfer, Konstanze Rudert, and Paul Sigel (Dresden: Hellerau-Verlag, 2000).

⁶⁷ Paul Schumann, *Dresden* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1909), 99.

⁶⁸ These included: Carl Justi, *Winckelmann. Sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig: F. E. W. Vogel, 1866); Zahn, “Barock, Rococo und Zopf”; Paul Schumann, *Barock und Rokoko. Studien zur Baugeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Beziehung auf Dresden* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1885). In addition, the second volume of Gottfried Semper’s book *Der Stil*, published in 1860, contains one of the first reassessments of Dresden’s Baroque and Rococo architectural heritage. See Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts: or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 592-593.

original Saxon art.”⁶⁹ In an essay on the Zwinger written after the turn of the twentieth century, Karl Scheffler went a step further in comparing his reaction to Pöppelmann’s design to Goethe’s transformative experience in front of the Strasbourg Minster.⁷⁰ Despite its connections to dynastic history and French precedents, the building was thoroughly *deutsch*. It was, for Scheffler, “just as *bürgerlich* as Lessing and Bach with their *Zopf* and periwigs.”⁷¹ According to Gurlitt, the Zwinger was “so German that in any other country it would stand out at once as foreign.”⁷²

Gurlitt was probably the most influential interpreter of Dresden’s Baroque heritage. Beginning with his appointment in 1879 at the city’s recently founded *Königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museum*, he dedicated himself to cataloging, teaching, and preserving the complex history and continuing afterlife of the Dresden Baroque. In 1885, he began an almost forty-year long project to write a biography of Augustus the Strong. Published in 1924 as *August der Starke, ein Fürstenleben aus der Zeit des deutschen Barock*, the book celebrated the King’s strong presence in cultural affairs as a key ingredient in the creation of the city’s healthy “*Volkswesen*.”⁷³ Rather than the Zwinger, Bähr’s *Frauenkirche* struck Gurlitt as the most compelling building of the era. “From

⁶⁹ Carl Justi, *Winckelmann. Sein Leben, seine Werke und seine Zeitgenossen*, 255.

⁷⁰ For Goethe’s famous essay on the building, see Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “On German Architecture,” in *Goethe on Art*, John Gage (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 118-123. The terms of Goethe’s description of the Gothic in many ways reflect later reassessments of the Baroque.

⁷¹ Karl Scheffler, “Der Zwinger: Meditationen über die deutsche Baukunst,” *Nord und Süd*.

⁷² Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899), 99.

⁷³ Cornelius Gurlitt, *August der Starke: Ein Fürstenleben aus der Zeit des deutschen Barock* (Sibyllen Verlag, 1924).

head to toe,” he maintained, Bähr was “governed by a national spirit.”⁷⁴ Gurlitt’s evocation of a national spirit went hand in hand with his celebration of the *Frauenkirche*’s Protestant appearance. As opposed to the forms of Chiaveri’s nearby Catholic *Hofkirche*, the simplicity of form, decorative modesty, and ingenuity of plan at the *Frauenkirche* made it a manifestation of “*nichtkatholischen Deutschland*” itself.

Gurlitt’s preoccupation with the Baroque in Dresden extended to an engagement with nineteenth century buildings as well. One of his first writings on architecture was a book-length review of Semper’s rebuilt *Hoftheater*.⁷⁵ For Gurlitt, the newly completed building resonated with the Baroque language of the neighboring Zwinger and *Hofkirche*, creating a harmonious urban ensemble. In Semper’s design, he recognized a “move towards the Baroque style” that could be detected in the “sonorous power of his formal language” and in an “escalation of effect.”⁷⁶ In an 1898 article on recent developments in Dresden architecture, Paul Schumann praised Gurlitt’s concentration on the “*heimisch-örtliche*” tradition of the Baroque as opposed to the “*fremdländisch*” feeling of Schinkel’s *Hauptwache*, located just across from Semper’s theater.⁷⁷

For Schumann, Gurlitt’s great contribution was that he brought Dresden’s Baroque heritage to the attention of young architects. At the same time that important eighteenth-century monuments such as the *Maxpalais* and *Brühl’sche Palais* were being

⁷⁴ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1889), 394.

⁷⁵ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Das neue königliche Hoftheater zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1878). The book was reprinted in 1990 by the Hellerau-Verlag in Dresden as the first volume of their *Dresden Miniaturen* series.

⁷⁶ Gurlitt, *Das neue königliche Hoftheater zu Dresden* (Dresden: Hellerau-Verlag, 1990), 21.

⁷⁷ Paul Schumann, “Dresdener Architektur,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 2 (April-September 1898): 438-445.

torn down, Neo-Baroque buildings began to spring up across the city. Projects such as a new passageway between the *Hofkirche* and Palace and the *Secondogenitur* library building on the *Brühlischen Terrasse* sought to harmonize with the eighteenth century character of the city's monumental core. At the same time, Schilling & Gräbner's 1895 *Kaiserpalast* on the *Pirnaischer Platz* and Lossow & Viehweger's 1897-1900 *Zentraltheater* employed a bombastic mixture of Baroque motifs in an attempt to stand out from their neighbors on Dresden's busy commercial streets. **[Fig. 0.4, 0.5]** From 1903 to 1907, Lossow, Viehweger, and Hans Max Kühne created a remarkable design for the Dresden Applied Arts Academy. In a massive complex filled with classrooms, studios, and a museum, the architects incorporated many of the most important remains of the Baroque-era *Brühl'sche Palais*. Through an act of architectural assemblage, the architects illustrated the formal resonances between Dresden's historical Baroque and their own Neo-Baroque/Jugendstil language.

The Baroque's connection to the idea of *Bodenständigkeit* was also a determining factor in its embrace by architects in Munich. The region's geographical proximity to Italy, its Catholicism, and the inclination of the Bavarian court towards the artistic models of France all contributed to claims for the Baroque as a deeply rooted "*Heimatstil*." As Eva-Maria Landwehr has shown in her study of Neo-Baroque sacred architecture in Bavaria, the phenomenon of "*Rebarockisierung*" in preservation projects and the popularity of the style in the design of new church buildings were both intimately connected to a perceived link between Catholic tradition and the evolution of Baroque architecture in southern Germany.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Landwehr, *Neubarock. Architektur und Ausstattungskonzepte süddeutscher Sakralbauten um 1900*.

The Baroque's reception in Munich as the "*alte bayerische Bauweise*" was not limited to religious architecture. In his introduction to the first volume of the illustrated series *Münchner bürgerliche Baukunst der Gegenwart*, Richard Streiter related the resurgence of the Baroque in Munich's commercial and residential architecture to its "*heimisch*" quality.⁷⁹ This could be seen in the designs of Gabriel Seidl, Emanuel Seidl, Martin Dülfer, Theodor Fischer, Karl Hocheder, Martin Dülfer, and Friedrich von Thiersch.⁸⁰ In a design strategy that he called "conservative-progressive," Streiter championed this development as a way out of more artificial modes of historicist practice.

In many ways, the breakthrough of Baroque and Rococo forms in Munich came at the 1888 *Deutsch-Nationalen Kunstgewerbe-Ausstellung*.⁸¹ Organized by the Bavarian *Kunstgewerbe-Verein*, the exhibition was held in a temporary wood and plaster hall designed by Emanuel Seidl and decorated by the painter Rudolf von Seitz in a Baroque style. For the beginning of an official publication accompanying the exhibition, Gurlitt wrote a long essay on the Bavarian Baroque.⁸² The exhibition building's galleries were filled with a wide selection of decorative arts modeled on Baroque and Rococo precedents. Many of these works stemmed from the army craftsmen hired to carry out

⁷⁹ Richard Streiter, *Münchner bürgerliche Baukunst der Gegenwart* (1899).

⁸⁰ A broad selection of Neo-Baroque facades in Munich, many no longer existing, is illustrated in: Heinrich Habel, Klaus Marten, Michael Petzet, and Siegfried von Quast, *Müncher Fassaden: Bürgerhäuser des Historismus und des Jugendstiles* (München: Prestel, 1974).

⁸¹ For a description of exhibition, see *Officieller Katalog der Deutsch-Nationalen Kunstgewerbe-Ausstellung zu München 1888: Hsg. vom Directorium der Ausstellung. Dazu: Illustrierter Theil. Reproduktionen von Ansichten und Ausstellungsgegenständen der Kg. Ausstellung* (München: Verlag der Acad Monatshefte, 1888).

⁸² Cornelius Gurlitt, "Das monumentale München, Bayern und die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Chronik der Deutsch-Nationalen Kunstgewerbe-Ausstellung in München* (München, 1889).

Ludwig II's lavish building exploits as King of Bavaria. In addition to having rooms at the Munich *Residenz* redone by L. Gedon and Seitz in the style of Louis XIV, Ludwig commissioned the design of *Schloss Herrenchiemsee* (a replica of the palace at Versailles) and *Schloss Linderhof*.⁸³

The rebirth of the Baroque in Munich was most dramatically illustrated in Friedrich von Thiersch's Palace of Justice, constructed from 1887-1897.⁸⁴ Thiersch's original design envisioned a strongly rusticated Italian Renaissance language for the building's exterior. In 1889, he completely transformed the building's composition into what the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* described as "a restrained southern German Baroque with Italian elements mixed in."⁸⁵ The elliptically-projecting eastern side of the *Justizpalast* drew directly on Fischer von Erlach's design for the garden side of the Schwarzenberg Palace. In his *Denkschrift* for the project, Thiersch himself explained, "The greater freedom of expressive means (*Ausdrucksmittel*) and the greater flexibility (*Beweglichkeit*) of forms were crucial for the choice of this style."⁸⁶ This was especially true on the interior of the building, where Thiersch's grand *Treppenhaus* directly recalled the fluorescence of that feature in the southern German Baroque. **[Fig. 0.6]** He noted, "For the design of the public spaces, namely the great main stair hall, forms from the most magnificent examples of earlier times were especially suitable – one thinks of the stair

⁸³ For a general overview of these projects, see *Designs for the Dream King: The Castles and Palaces of Ludwig II of Bavaria* (London: Debrett's Peerage, 1978).

⁸⁴ The commission for the project resulted from the consolidation of Munich's courts due to the city's rapid growth and the reorganization of the German legal system following unification. Thiersch's relation to the Baroque is discussed in Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Friedrich von Thiersch: Ein Münchner Architekt des Späthistorismus, 1852-1921* (München: Karl M. Lipp, 1977).

⁸⁵ *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (1894), 409.

⁸⁶ Quoted in Hermann Thiersch, *Friedrich von Thiersch: Der Architekt, 1852-1921* (München: Hugo Bruckmann, 1925), 136.

and hall constructions of the Viennese, Würzburg, and Munich Baroque and considers the vestibules and main staircases of the palaces of Brühl, Würzburg, Schleißheim, Ansbach, and others.”⁸⁷ As can be seen today in the collection of personal notebooks housed at the Thiersch archive at the *Technische Universität* in Munich, Thiersch made multiple trips to each of these locations in order to measure, sketch, and photograph Baroque examples.⁸⁸ Thiersch’s nephew Hermann recalled that the use of the Baroque at the *Justizpalast* constituted a direct return to the “*Werken der Väter*.”⁸⁹

The Baroque Returns to Berlin

While Neo-Baroque architects in Vienna, Dresden, and Munich saw their work as the expression of an innate predisposition towards Baroque form-making arising from deeply rooted religious and cultural traditions, the reception of the style in Berlin assumed a more complicated path. In part, this had to do with the historical development of the style in the Prussian *Hauptstadt*. The Baroque architecture of the Catholic south had never been embraced in Berlin. At the end of the seventeenth century, the city’s Protestantism and its adoption of the sober artistic tradition of the Netherlands made the language of the southern German Baroque seem out of place.⁹⁰ While Friedrich Wilhelm

⁸⁷ Ibid., 136.

⁸⁸ Thiersch’s dedication to reinvisioning local southern German Baroque traditions in his design is also evident in his careful preservation of an eighteenth century Rococo painting from the abandoned portion of a pavilion transformed before construction into the architect’s office. In the completed *Justizpalast* building, this exact decorative pattern was reused in the supraportes of the grand *Festsaal*.

⁸⁹ Thiersch, *Friedrich von Thiersch: Der Architekt, 1852-192*, 136.

⁹⁰ This can be seen in the mixed reception of Georg Christian Unger’s *Königliche Bibliothek* (1775-80), modeled after a design by Fischer von Erlach.

I's transformation of Berlin after the destruction of the Thirty Years War lead to the design of multiple churches, including Christian August Naumann's 1739 *Dreifaltigkeitskirche*, his ambitious architectural patronage was most intensely focused on secular tasks such as the creation of the new faubourgs *Dorotheenstadt* and *Friedrichstadt*. For art historians at the end of the nineteenth century, the most important products of Friedrich Wilhelm's *Baulust* were Schlüter's Zeughaus (Armory Building) and the Royal Palace.⁹¹

During the 1680's and 1690's, Schlüter had worked as a sculptor in the court of the Polish King Johann Sobieski in Warsaw, where he played a part in the decoration of Schloss Wilanow and the Krasinsky Palace. In 1694, he was called to Berlin as court sculptor for Friedrich Wilhelm (then Frederick III of Brandenburg). Through his roles as the director of the recently formed *Akademie der Künste* and his sculptural and architectural work for the court, Schlüter played a decisive role in giving expression to the elevation of Brandenburg-Prussia to a kingdom in 1701. Schlüter's decorative completion of the Zeughaus and, starting in 1695, his transformation of the existing fabric of the Palace were seen as embodying Prussia's emergence as a political power.⁹²

⁹¹ The literature on Schlüter is vast. The nineteenth century historiography of Schlüter will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1. For more recent general accounts, see L. Wiesinger, *Das Berliner Schloss: Von der kurfürstlichen Residenz bis zum Königsschloss* (Darmstadt, 1989); Geord Peschken, *Das Schloss zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1992); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister & City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate: Comments on Sculpture, Science and Patronage in Central and Eastern Europe c. 1700," in *Akten des XXVII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte* (1993), 199-212; Albert Geyer, *Geschichte des Schlosses zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1992); Guido Hinterkeuser, *Das Berliner Schloss: Der Umbau durch Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin: Siedler, 2003).

⁹² For a discussion of Schlüter's role in the self-representation of Brandenburg-Prussia and a collection of documents related to this theme, see Karin Friedrich and Sara Smart, *The Cultivation of Monarchy and the Rise of Berlin: Brandenburg-Prussia, 1700* (London: Ashgate, 2010). It is worth noting that the story of Schlüter's work in Berlin was used to project ideas about nationalism and Prussian identity well into the twentieth century. See, for example, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck's 1915 book *Der Preussische Stil*

Far from a continuous tradition, however, arguments at the end of the nineteenth century for Schlüter's important role in the recuperation of the Baroque in Berlin were conditioned by the city's more recent architectural history. Rather than a *Barockstadt*, Berlin was best known as "Athens on the Spree" ("*Spree Athen*"). Although the architectural influence of Karl Friedrich Schinkel and his students had diminished significantly by the 1880's, attempts to re-engage the Baroque were forced to reconcile the style with Berlin's Neo-Classical past. In his book *Berlin – Ein Stadtschicksal*, Karl Scheffler stated simply, "Schinkel is *berlinisch*, Schlüter is not."⁹³ According to Scheffler, the formal language of the Zeughaus and Palace façade would be much more at home in the Dresden of Augustus the Strong or in southern Germany than in Berlin. Such "opulence," Scheffler argued, was simply "*unberlinisch*."⁹⁴ This related to Scheffler's more general description of the city as a "*Kolonialstadt*." Lying on Germany's artistic and cultural periphery, the city's development was marked by a sense of "*Sparsamkeit*" ("economy") and "*nüchterne Utilitarismus*" ("sober utilitarianism"). Berlin was "predestined," according to Scheffler, "to be a Protestant city."⁹⁵ This Protestantism was itself an expression of the city's "utilitarian idea of the state." Scheffler argued that

(reprinted many times through the 1930's) and the 1942 film *Andreas Schlüter*, directed by Herbert Maisch. The copy of Cornelius Gurlitt's biography of Schlüter held at the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek* is, in fact, from the library of Moeller van den Bruck. Although outside the parameters of this project, the extended political reception of Schlüter is a topic worthy of further study. This is especially the case today, since the reconstruction of the façade of the "original" Baroque *Schloss*, soon to take place on the site of the former *Palast der Republik*, is intimately tied up with questions of cultural politics and national and civic self-representation.

⁹³ Karl Scheffler, *Berlin – Ein Stadtschicksal* (E. Reiss, 1910), 65.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 65. The same was true for Schlüter's sculptural works: "Rauch's monument to Friedrich the Great is *berlinisch*. Schlüter's works are not."

⁹⁵ Ibid., 37.

Catholicism, and by extension the southern German Baroque, could never find a home in the “city of pure reason” (“*Stadt der reinen Vernunft*”).⁹⁶

Published in 1910, Scheffler’s book was directed in part against the very late-nineteenth century *Gründerarchitektur* that brought about the rebirth of the Baroque. As was the case with the historical Baroque, he argued that the “*Kulturlosigkeit*” surrounding the emergence of the Neo-Baroque was in direct contrast to the frugality and sobriety of Schinkel and his students. Bracketed on one side by Franco-Prussian Neo-Classicism and on the other by a renewed interest in the years “*um 1800*” after the turn of the twentieth century, the rediscovery of the Baroque in Berlin was both hard-fought and seemingly short-lived. Rather than a tradition, it was an interlude.⁹⁷

The reemergence of the Baroque in Berlin represented much more, however, than a stylistic interregnum. The style’s central place in late-nineteenth century architectural debate coincided with Berlin’s unprecedented transformation into a *Großstadt*. By the end of the nineteenth century, Berlin was not only the capital of the German Empire and the center of Prussian rule, but also one of the most productive industrial centers in Europe, a major transportation hub, and the center of Germany’s financial industry. In its political ascendancy, economic stature, and rapid increase in population, Berlin provided architects with a wide range of building challenges. From the Reichstag Building to new apartment buildings and department stores, the growth of Berlin brought the profession face to face with the complex forces that defined architecture’s path into modernity.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁹⁷ By the time of Scheffler’s book, the Baroque ornamentation that was bolted to the red brick facades of the city in the 1880’s and 1890’s had become the subject of “façade renewal.” Volutes and atlantids were shaved from buildings like the hairs of a beard.

This confrontation was mediated in important ways through engagements with the Baroque. The resuscitation of the style by architects resulted in two competing directions. At the same time that architects sought to appropriate historical formal motifs in order to satisfy the representational desires of the Prussian monarchy and the upward pretensions of an expanding urban *Bürgertum*, the expressivity, fantasy, and spatial dynamism of the style were mined as a way of creating a “New Baroque” (“*Neubarock*”) that confronted the “Idealist” conceptions of architecture associated with the legacy of *Klassizismus* in Berlin.

Of central importance in this discursive shift was the emergence of psychological aesthetics as a model for both art historical enquiry and architectural design. Investigations by physiologists and psychologists into the connections between visual stimulation, muscle contraction, and aesthetic response had a major impact on the reception of the Baroque. Beginning in the 1860’s, researchers including Hermann Helmholtz, Gustav Fechner, and Wilhelm Wundt dedicated themselves to deciphering the elementary rules of sensation. In their replacement, to use Fechner’s famous words, of an aesthetics “*von Oben*” (from universals to particulars) with a new direction “*von Unten*” (from below), the field of psychology fostered an empirical approach to the bodily experience of the subject.⁹⁸ For the architect Richard Streiter, this constituted no less than a “dethronement of philosophy.”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ See Gustav Theodor Fechner, *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1876), 1-7. For accounts of the contribution of psychological aesthetics and experimental physiology to art discourse at the turn of the twentieth century, see Robert Michael Brain, “The Pulse of Modernism: Experimental Psychology and Aesthetic Avant-Gardes circa 1900,” *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 39 (2008): 393-417; Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in German, 1871-1918* (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007).

⁹⁹ Richard Streiter, “Architektur und Kunstphilosophie,” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 50 (December 12, 1896): 551.

These investigations into the aesthetic experience of the viewer attempted to counter the idealist principles of Hegelian absolutism with an attempt to distil artistic expression into a spectrum of feelings, sensations, and effects. For art historians, this was the bread and butter of the Baroque. In the years following Gurlitt's and Ilg's preliminary attempts at elucidating the style, a new generation of art historians turned their attention to the roots of Baroque expression. In a closely interrelated series of publications, scholars such as Wölfflin, Schmarsow, and Riegl characterized the Baroque as either a “*malerisch*” or “*plastisch*” style.¹⁰⁰ At stake was not only the Baroque's wider connection to the idea of a “*Lebensgefühl*,” but also an understanding of the subject's perceptual response to architectural form. Art historians used the very qualities that caused Burckhardt to describe the Baroque as “wild” to examine the style's stimulation of feelings and moods. As Wölfflin put it in the preface to his 1888 book *Renaissance und Barock*, this constituted a move away from the “*kultur-historisch*” basis of previous studies and towards an attempt to gain “insight into the intimate workings of art” (“*einen Einblick in das innere Leben der Kunst*”).¹⁰¹

The Baroque played a similar role for architects. At the same time that it provided a rich array of symbolic associations, the style's bold surfaces and dynamic spatial effects

¹⁰⁰ Recent accounts of the place of the “*malerisch*” in Baroque research include Adler, “Painterly Politics: Wölfflin, Formalism and German Academic Culture, 1885-1915”; Alina Payne, “Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the History of an Idea from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier,” in *The Built Surface: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Karn Koehler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 54-72.

¹⁰¹ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (T. Ackermann, 1888).

focused attention on the viewer's unmediated bodily experience of architecture.¹⁰² The question was no longer what the Baroque meant, but what architecture itself *does*. As Gurlitt put it, this marked a decisive transition in architecture “from the world of ideas to that of sensuously felt form.”¹⁰³ In this way, the *Neubarock* moved architectural discourse away from the logic of historicism itself.

Chapter 1 charts the general parameters of the rediscovery of the Baroque in Berlin by exploring the architectural reevaluation of Schlüter during the 1880's in relation to the changing reception of Schinkel and the writings of Carl Bötticher. Using the remarkable architectural program of the 1886 *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* as a starting point, the chapter traces the importance of Schlüter's designs for the Palace and Zeughaus in guiding the formation of a Neo-Baroque aimed at expressing the artistic patrimony and political continuity of Prussia in the context of the German Empire.

Chapter 2 examines the simultaneous deployment of the Baroque across the commercial and residential streetscape of Berlin. Beginning with an analysis of the architect Gustav Ebe's work for the advertiser Rudolf Mosse, it shows that appeals to advertising's manipulation of the attentiveness of the viewer lay at the very heart of both Baroque historiography and the Neo-Baroque's contribution to the visual experience of the capitalist metropolis.

Chapter 3 traces the close interaction between Gurlitt and the architect Paul Wallot. The qualities of individualism, creativity, and anti-Idealism that drove Gurlitt's

¹⁰² As Geoffrey Scott would later suggest, it was during the Baroque that “architecture was considered, for the first time, wholly psychologically.” Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 137.

¹⁰³ “...von der Welt der Gedanken zu dem der sinnlich empfundenen Form.” Cornelius Gurlitt. “Göllers ästhetische Lehre,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 21 (1887), 606.

programmatic rehabilitation of the Baroque are discussed in relation to Wallot's closely followed design for the Reichstag Building.

The final chapters of this dissertation explore the work of two of the most talented members of Wallot's office. Chapter 4 analyzes a remarkable body of work by the architect Otto Rieth. Through examinations of Rieth's popular "fantasy drawings" and a previously unknown portfolio of photographs that depicts nude men and women posing as architectural elements, the importance of "*Ausdruck*" ("expression") in the *Neubarock* is traced in relation to art historical accounts of the Baroque and the emergence of "*Einfühlung*" ("empathy") in psychological aesthetics.

The last chapter uses two projects by the architect Otto Schmalz to examine the crucial role of space in architectural engagements with the Baroque. By tracing the close connection between theories of Baroque space in art history and architecture, the chapter begins to highlight the important, although insufficiently studied, role of the *Neubarock* in establishing the groundwork for the reception of the style after the turn of the twentieth century.

Chapter One

Staging the Neo-Baroque: Andreas Schlüter and Prussian Representation

What Baroque wants from history is the past life of Baroque itself.

Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms in Art*¹

In an introductory essay for the inaugural 1899 issue of the journal *Berliner Architekturwelt*, the editors of the publication offered a sketch of the state of architecture in Berlin:

No other modern metropolis offers such favorable soil to the open development of architecture and its related arts as Berlin. No venerable architectural monument from the glorious past to which the living generation looks in awestruck admiration dictates specific paths for the development of new life. What happens to remain of the works from the Gothic Middle Ages and the Renaissance era could never measure up to the monuments of the German West and especially the German south, and, in any case, they are gradually lost or forgotten in the relentlessly forward-pressing character of metropolitan life.²

¹ Henri Focillon, *The Life of Forms in Art* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 58.

² “Neue Erscheinungen in der Architektur Berlins,” *Berliner Architekturwelt: Zeitschrift für Baukunst, Malerei, Plastik und Kunstgewerbe der Gegenwart*, 1 (1899), 12. The journal’s main editors were Heinrich Jassoy, Ernst Spindler, and Bruno Möhring. The publication was produced in cooperation with the Vereinigung Berliner Architekten. Its mission was to chronicle the city’s architecture at the cusp of the twentieth century.

The only exception to this was Andreas Schlüter's design of the Royal Palace. The authors argued, "The dignified Hohenzollern Palace on the Spree is only a small island in the billowy sea... Schlüter is the only artist from the past history of art in Berlin whose name will shine into the future."³ Like a bulwark against the history-eroding tide of the metropolis, Schlüter's contributions to the Palace constituted an increasingly rare link to Berlin's pre-*Klassizismus* architectural past.

K. E. O. Fritsch expressed a similar sentiment in the introduction to the 1896 book *Berlin und seine Bauten*.⁴ With most important monuments from the Middle Ages and German Renaissance either destroyed or unrecognizable through alteration, Berlin's early historical record was frustratingly meager.⁵ He stated, "When compared to the richly designed monuments of other cities in the Mark Brandenburg, these buildings stand in striking contrast to the prosperity and power that distinguish Berlin."⁶ It was only with the arrival of Schlüter on the city's artistic scene that Berlin reached the level of "a *Kunststadt* of the highest order."⁷

³ Ibid., 12.

⁴ K. E. O. Fritsch, "Zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung der Berliner Baukunst," in *Berlin und Seine Bauten: II. und III., Der Hochbau* (Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1896). Conceived jointly by the Architekten-Verein zu Berlin and the Vereinigung Berliner Architekten, the book was assembled by many of the foremost architects and architectural historians in the city. The book provided a comprehensive overview of the history of architecture in the city up to the present

⁵ He noted that only the *Nicolaikirche*, *Marienkirche*, *Hospital-Kapelle zum Heiligen Geist*, and Franciscan church and cloister remained of the Medieval buildings. Examples of the German Renaissance were even harder to come by, limited to the parts of the Palace constructed by Joachim II beginning in 1538, the facade from the so-called *Ribbeck'schen Haus*, and a selection of epitaphs in the *Nicolaikirche*.

⁶ Ibid., ii.

⁷ Ibid., iv.

The entire book began with a history of the Royal Palace by the scholar Richard Borrmann that linked Schlüter's contributions to the building with the ongoing changes to the complex initiated by Wilhelm II and his architect Ernst von Ihne. For Borrmann, the Palace was "the most outstanding monument of its own history... Its foundation and development are linked with the history of the city in the closest way."⁸ For many authors, the Palace's long history of expansions and renovations embodied the ascendancy of the Hohenzollern lineage itself since the birth of the Prussian Kingdom in 1701. In an 1879 travel account of Berlin, a correspondent suggested, "Built up like the Prussian monarchy itself by the addition of successive fragments, the patches added to its stony coat record in some degree the progress of the ruling dynasty."⁹ Similarly, the architect Albert Geyer described, "In its emergence, expansion, and present existence, the *Berliner Schloss* is the mirror image of the Brandenburgian-Prussian state."¹⁰

Schlüter played a fundamental role in the development of the Neo-Baroque in Berlin during the 1880's. In their attempt to create an architecture representative of Berlin's importance in the German Empire, architects explored Schlüter's work from the turn of the eighteenth century as a source of artistic patrimony and political continuity. The revived reception of the Baroque in Berlin brought with it a critical engagement with prevailing narratives concerning the city's deeply rooted classical tradition. Through the writings of art historians and popular architectural events such as the 1886 *Jubiläums-*

⁸ R. Borrmann, "Die Schlösser und Palais des Königlichen Hauses," *Berlin und seine Bauten*, 1.

⁹ Henry Vizetelly, *Berlin under the New Empire* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1879), 125.

¹⁰ Albert Geyer, *Geschichte des Schlosses zu Berlin. Zweiter Band: Vom Königschloß zum Schloß des Kaisers (1698-1918)* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2001), 105. Geyer's long career as a member and eventual director of the *Schlossbaucommission* from 1885 to 1921 gave him an intimate perspective on the Palace's development. For a general overview of the development of the Palace, see Goerd Peschken and Hans-Werner Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloß* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1982).

Kunstaussstellung, the rediscovery of the Prussian Baroque played a central role in attempts to transform Berlin from “Athens on the Spree”, as was still popularly called, to a city representative of an age of blood and iron.

The *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*

After one look at the grand entry hall of the 1886 *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*, the critic Georg Voss emotionally declared, “Berlin is no longer the city of Schinkel... The era of *Griechentum* in our architecture is over.”¹¹ Designed by the architects Joseph Heinrich Kayser and Karl von Großheim, the monumental space was defined by a system of two super-imposed domes decorated with a rich array of sculptures and frescoes meant to recall the rich formal language of the late-seventeenth century in Germany.¹² [Fig. 1.1] The effect of the space was heightened through a complex electrical illumination system which cast entire rooms in half-darkness, allowing decorative elements and works of art to “actively come forward,” as one observer put it, in the creation of a “beautiful, almost magical effect.”¹³ As Voss cranked his neck in order to take in the intoxicating volume of the dome, which he described as having a “dizziness of forms whose sweep of line drew every statue and fresco into its course,” he was left with no doubt that Berlin had

¹¹ Georg Voss, “Die Eröffnung der Berliner Jubilaeums-Austellung,” *Die Kunst für Alle*, 1, no. 18 (June 15, 1886): 247.

¹² Joseph Heinrich Kayser (1842-1917) was born in Duisburg. After working for the *Stadtbauamt* in Bonn, he attended the *Bauakademie* in Berlin from 1866-67. His teacher there was Richard Lucae. Großheim (1841-1911) was born in Lübeck and studied at the *Bauakademie* under Richard Lucae and Friedrich Adler. The firm received second prize in the 1872 competition for the Reichstag Building. They were best known for numerous commercial buildings, department stores, and private residences. Following the use of Renaissance forms in the 1870’s, Kayser & von Großheim developed a highly influential Baroque vocabulary in the 1880’s.

¹³ “Vereins-Angelegenheiten.” *Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift*, 7, no. 6 (June 1886): 233.

“rediscovered the favorite language of artistic grandeur: the Baroque style.”¹⁴

Architecture had, for Voss, gone through a decisive transformation. It had “returned to the path of Andreas Schlüter.”¹⁵

This was also evident in the architecture section of the exhibition. In addition to a historical overview of architectural development in Berlin, a number of Neo-Baroque buildings were displayed which were hailed in reviews as representative of a distinct transformation in the city’s urban fabric. For many commentators, the stylistic shift announced at the exhibition mirrored the larger political transformations of the German Empire itself. “In the future,” the critic Friedrich Pecht declared, “just as our national history has entered a new and brilliant phase, the history of architecture will have to consider this year as the beginning of a new chapter.”¹⁶ This connection was made clear in the official poster designed for the event by the artist Hermann Prell, which featured an architectural background directly inspired by Schlüter’s designs for the Royal Palace.¹⁷

[Fig. 1.2]

Held from May until October 1886, the *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* was sponsored by the Berlin *Akademie der Künste* in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of its annual exhibitions. The show took place on the southern edge of the so-called “Classical Triangle,” an awkwardly shaped piece of land near the Lehrter train

¹⁴ Voss, “Die Eröffnung der Berliner Jubilaeums-Austellung,” 247.

¹⁵ Ibid., 247.

¹⁶ Friedrich Pecht, “Die Berliner Jubiläums-Ausstellung,” *Kunst für Alle* (1887), 42.

¹⁷ The historian Jean Louis Sponsel celebrated the poster, whose “*vom Berliner Schlosse hergenommene Barockarchitektur im Hintergrunde mit der das Künstlerschild haltenden mächtigen Frauengestalt schön zusammenklingt.*” Jean Louis Sponsel, *Das Moderne Plakat* (Dresden: Gerhard Kühtmann, 1897), 253.

station between *Alt-Moabit Strasse* and *Invaliden-Strasse*.¹⁸ [Fig. 1.3] The path of the elevated *Stadtbahn* tracks divided the large exhibition ground into two main areas. These were anchored by the main exhibition hall and an amusement quarter. Under the general guidance of the architect Fritz Wolff, the exhibition's central building was overhauled for the occasion from its previous incarnation as the location for the popular Berlin Hygiene Exhibitions of the early 1880's. Built with funds from the Prussian State, the Berlin magistrate, and members of the *Verein Berliner Künstler*, the building replaced the exhibition's previous home in the so-called "*Kunstbaracke*", a timber-framed structure located behind the Altes Museum and *Packhof* buildings on the western side of the *Spreeinsel*. The new structure was meant to provide a more ceremonial (and less fire-prone) setting for the anniversary exhibition. The building's impressive display space stretched out on either side of an almost 625 foot long central axis that led from its entrance to a statue of Frederick the Great by the artist Gottfried Schadow located at the end of an addition to the original structure. The *Prachtstück* of the entire exhibition was Kayser and von Großheim's entry hall. The sumptuously decorated space anchored a series of ceremonial galleries designed with only slightly less pomp by the architects Wilhelm Cremer and Richard Wolffenstein.

As described by the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, the Baroque was an obvious choice for the building. Not only did its decorative amplification express an inherent "festive splendor," but it was also the "dominant style at the time of the most magnificent

¹⁸ The exhibition was a singular success in terms of both financial gain – with over 1.2 million visitors, including over 20,000 on a single night in June, and a profit of over 15,000 marks – and cultural impact. As the Prussian Minister of Culture Gustav von Gossler described, the event showed the rest of Europe that "art has gradually gained its place under us, having found a definite home in the North." Quoted in Beth Irwin Lewis, *Art For All? The Collision of Modern Art and the Public in Late-Nineteenth Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 97.

flowering of art which Berlin has experienced until now and to which the Academy of Arts itself owes its genesis.”¹⁹ This link between the creative accomplishments of the city during Schlüter’s directorship of the *Akademie der Künste* and the artistic hopes of the present exemplified the perceived valence of the Prussian Baroque as a source of artistic patrimony.²⁰

Evocations of Schlüter at the exhibition also made an explicit correlation between Schlüter’s celebrated work as Court Architect for Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg (later Frederick I of Prussia) and architecture’s representative potential within the Prussian-led German Empire. In this way, the reemergence of the Baroque facilitated an expression of political continuity.²¹ Connections to what Christopher Clark has called the Hohenzollern Dynasty’s “Prusso-German mission” were literally inscribed into Kayser & von Großheim’s design.²² For example, the Weimar-based artist Woldemar Friedrich executed a much-admired painting on the surface of the upper dome of the entry hall depicting a fantastical procession that wrapped its way around a scene of the obeisance of

¹⁹ “Von der Jubiläums-Ausstellung der Kgl. Akademie der Künste zu Berlin,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 42 (May 26, 1886), 249.

²⁰ Schlüter first became Director of the *Akademie* in 1702. For a history of the institution, including a long description of Schlüter’s activities, that spans the time from its founding until the end of the nineteenth century, See Hans Müller, *Die königliche Akademie der Künste zu Berlin, 1696 bis 1896* (Berlin: Rich. Bong., 1896).

²¹ Alongside its royal associations, the wide resonances of Schlüter’s architecture can be seen in Hugo Vogel’s painting for a supraporte in the Berlin *Rathaus* entitled “The Glorification of Schlüter.”

²² See Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 591. See also Thomas Kohut, *Wilhelm II and the Germans. A Study in Leadership* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Germania before *Berolina*, the allegorical figures for Germany and Berlin. The painting was supported by atlantid figures and illuminated by a hidden source of natural light.²³

Above the arches leading into the building's ceremonial rooms, the sculptor Otto Lessing installed a group of winged victory figures. In an allusion to a similar motif at the nearby Royal Palace, Lessing decorated the sculptures with the initials of Friedrich Wilhelm I, Friedrich II ("*Friedrich der Große*"), and Wilhelm I.²⁴ In addition to their appeal to ideas of dynastic succession and the political evolution of Germany's leading court, the cartouche ornaments conveyed an artistic trajectory proceeding from the "classical" Baroque of Schlüter, through the "Frederician Rococo" of Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, and ultimately to the Neo-Baroque of the 1880's. This connection to the Baroque was further expressed in Ernst Albert Fischer-Cörlin's paintings of Friedrich I and Friedrich II for the *supraporte* of the main hall. In these works, cherub-attended busts of each ruler were depicted in front of the Royal Palace and Sanssouci. [Fig. 1.4]

With over two thousand works of contemporary painting, sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts from Germany, Austria, and England, as well as an historical survey of the arts starting from the founding of the *Akademie* at the end of the seventeenth century, the exhibition presented the public with a broad cross-section of artistic production.²⁵ Amongst the most popular works was a selection of monumental paintings

²³ For critics, the piece drew attention to the rich tradition of German Baroque decorative painting by recalling celebrated mid-eighteenth century works by Johannes Zick at Bruchsal and by Tiepolo at Würzburg. After participating in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Friedrich taught painting in Weimar. In 1885, he moved to Berlin to become an instructor at the *Akademie*. He was awarded a gold medal for his ceiling painting in the exhibition building.

²⁴ The sculptural ensemble devoted to Friedrich I was, in fact, included in the foreground of the official poster to the exhibition.

²⁵ For a catalogue of the works displayed, see *Illustrierte Katalog der Jubiläums-Ausstellung der Kgl. Akademie der Künste* (Berlin: Berliner Verlags-Comtoir, 1886).

from the royal collections. These included Anton von Werner's 1878 *Der Kongress zu Berlin*, his 1885 *Die Proklamierung des deutschen Kaiserreichs*, and Adolph Menzel's 1861-65 *Krönung Wilhelms I. in Königsberg*. Seen together, the paintings further enforced the exhibition's staging of a connection between Prussia's birth as a kingdom and the emergence of the German Empire. On the opening night of the exhibition on May 23, 1886, this connection was made clear. An assembly of specially invited guests packed the space of Kayser and von Großheim's entry hall. Following an introduction by the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (future Wilhelm II), Wilhelm I himself gave a speech that linked the birth of the *Akademie* under Friedrich I, the origin of the institution's yearly exhibitions under Friedrich Wilhelm II, and its present day blossoming.²⁶

Schlüter and Schinkel

The embrace of the Prussian Baroque by architects during the 1880's was closely related to the quickly growing interest in Schlüter in art historical research. On the same page as its May 1886 review of the *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*, the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* published a lengthy review essay by its editor K. E. O. Fritsch examining the recent explosion of scholarly publications and photographic plate books on Late-

²⁶ In his address, Wilhelm proclaimed, "Today we remember the great King under whose protection the first of the Academy's art exhibitions was opened over 100 years ago." For many years, Wilhelm's address hung on the walls of the *Akademie der Künste*. For the complete text, see Ernst Berner, ed., "Ansprache bei der Eröffnung der Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung," in *Kaiser Wilhelms der Grossen. Briefe, Reden und Schriften* (Berlin: Ernst Siegrfried Mittler und Sohn, 1906), 411. In addition to works by living artists from within and outside of Germany (except for France, who did not participate in the 1886 exhibition), the official prospectus for the exhibition called for: "*Werke, welche einen Ueberblick über die vaterländische Kunstentwicklung, seit den Tagen des Erlauchten Stifters unserer Aufstellungen, König Friedrichs des Großen, bis auf die Neuzeit darbieten.*" Quoted in *Centralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichts-Verwaltung in Preußen* (1885), 710.

Renaissance and Baroque architecture in Germany.²⁷ His review was aimed at introducing architects to recent developments in research into the Baroque. That the style was still a controversial topic was evident in the opening sentences of the essay. Fritsch noted that many architects had asked him whether it was appropriate to call the attention of architects to publications on the Baroque. They were concerned that any mention of the style might still be “too dangerous of a disturbance for the profession.”²⁸ The style was something that “current architectural movements should be afraid of.”²⁹ In reply, Fritsch assured his readers that the Baroque was a legitimate subject of art historical enquiry. Moreover, the problems dealt with by seventeenth and eighteenth century architects were in many ways “those most akin to the present.”³⁰ With regard to the renewed appreciation of Schlüter in Berlin, Fritsch noted that publications such as Robert Dohme’s 1876 *Das Königliche Schloss in Berlin*, his 1884 *Barock- und Rococo-Architektur*, A. Pabst’s 1885 *Berliner Bauten aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Gustav Ebe’s 1886 *Die Spät-Renaissance*, and Cornelius Gurlitt’s essays on the *Zeughaus* and *Schloß* all cast much-needed light on the murky details of the architect’s life and the significance of his work for Berlin’s architectural heritage.³¹

²⁷ K. E. O. Fritsch, “Neuere Veröffentlichungen über die Baukunst der Spätrenaissance,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 41 (22 May 1886), 243.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 243.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 243.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 244. Fritsch also argues that “*die Architektur als Kunst niemals höher gestanden hat und dass der Architekt seiner Mittel niemals mehr Herr gewesen ist, als eben im Zeitabschnitt der Spätrenaissance.*” Fritsch discussed the revival of the Baroque at length in “Stil-Betrachtungen,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 24 (1890): 417-431, 434-440.

³¹ See Robert Dohme, *Das Königliche Schloss in Berlin* (Leipzig: A. Seemann, 1876); Robert Dohme, *Barock- und Rococo-Architektur* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1884); A. Pabst, *Berliner Bauten aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1885); Gustav Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance: Kunstgeschichte der*

In their resuscitation of Schlüter's work, art historians transformed the tenor of previous engagements with the architect in a way that would have a profound impact on his revival in contemporary architecture. Prior to the efforts of the authors listed by Fritsch, the most thorough appraisal of Schlüter had come from the architect, archaeologist, and theoretician Friedrich Adler. One year after his appointment as professor of architectural history at the *Bauakademie* in 1861, Adler delivered a lecture on Schlüter for the yearly *Schinkelfest*.³² Aside from an 1855 book on the subject by C. F. von Kloeden, Adler's lecture constituted one of the first attempts to reconstruct the events of the architect's life and certainly one of the first laudatory interpretations of his work from within architecture.³³ The lecture hall was decorated for the occasion with rarely seen engravings and hand drawings by Schlüter. In addition, a large painting of Schlüter's statue of the "Great Elector" was hung above a large bust of Schinkel.

Adler's take on Schlüter was very different from that of architects twenty-five years later. Rather than position Schlüter's work in Berlin as part of the larger European development of the Baroque and Rococo, he argued that it constituted an autonomous prelude to the classicist vision of Schinkel and his disciples. Adler contended that by virtue of its adherence to the "highest artistic ideals," architecture in Berlin at the turn of the eighteenth century was able to resist the forces that contributed to the Baroque's

europäischen Länder von der Mitte des 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1886.) Gurlitt's articles will be discussed below.

³² The lecture was published in 1862 as Friedrich Adler, *Andreas Schlüter, Leben und Werke* (Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1862). All quotations are taken from this version. The lecture was also republished in the *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 12 (1862): 440-454. Adler also published the following essays on Schlüter: "Aus Andreas Schlüter's Leben. Der Bau und die Abtragung des Münzthurmes in Berlin, 1701 bis 1706," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 13 (1863); "Das Zeughaus zu Berlin," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 20 (1870): 59-68.

³³ See C. F. von Kloeden, *Andreas Schlüter: Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Bau-Geschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: 1855).

lamentable degeneracy elsewhere in Europe, and especially in France. “It is especially fortunate,” he insisted, “that the most rule less era [“*die gesetzloseste Epoche*”] in all of architectural history – the so-called Baroque style – left behind almost no sign of its deep decline in Berlin.”³⁴

According to Adler, by the time of Schlüter’s arrival onto the historical scene, the artistic accomplishments of the Renaissance, which gave perfect expression to the social and political life of a new “*Kultur-Epoche*,” had already disappeared.³⁵ The political and religious hardships of the Thirty Years War cut short artistic developments not only north of the Alps in Germany and France, but even in Italy.³⁶ Adler was especially critical of artistic developments in France during the second half of the seventeenth century.

Despite the “richest financial means, immense political successes, and a remarkable revival in literature,” Louis XIV was never, according to Adler, able to bring about a true blossoming of the arts.³⁷ Indeed, “His gilt (*vergoldetes*) – not golden (*goldenes*) – era not only held the fine arts to the vitiation that had already occurred in Rome, but also drove them down to almost the deepest levels of decline and degeneration.”³⁸ This is where Berlin entered Adler’s story. Despite national divisions, confessional schisms, and the destruction of the War, it was “the Brandenburgian nation, and especially Berlin” that provided an environment conducive to the fruitful development of architecture.

³⁴ Adler, *Andres Schlüter, Leben und Werke*, 2.

³⁵ This is the term that Adler uses to describe the emergence of the modern state.

³⁶ Adler contended that in Italy, the victory of landed lords over free Republics, the renewed solidification of the Papacy, and the establishment of Spanish rule destroyed artistic progress at its roots.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 3. Adler continued, “Who, then, can disagree with the perception that the hollowness, bombast, and ornateness of the Baroque style is tied in the most intimate way to the unfortunate influences that French courtly life and the French state under Louis XIV exercised over all areas of human activity.” *Ibid.*, 3.

In order to recover Schlüter as both a model for contemporary practice and as a constitutive element of Prussian artistic identity, Adler described buildings like the *Zeughaus* and Palace as lying on a continuum with the work of Schinkel rather than as contributing to the stylistic “*Irrweg*” of the Baroque. In addition to highlighting several resonances between the two architects, Adler emphasized the reverence with which Schinkel viewed the late-seventeenth century master’s work. “Schinkel himself,” he noted, “had the deepest, most earnest, and most devoted respect for Schlüter and considered his works a rich source for studies.”³⁹ Schinkel’s works were positioned as organic additions to Schlüter’s previous architectural and sculptural enhancements of the city. Ultimately, Adler contended:

Since [Schlüter] was an artistic hero just like Schinkel, since he shared with him a sense for pure classical beauty, and since he possessed the same genuine pride in never creating something superficial or merely pleasing, I hope that it could be

³⁹ Ibid., 3. In this connection, it is worth noting that structures like the *Schloss*, *Zeughaus*, and *Palais Wartenburg* (the “*Alte Post*”) were important visual anchors in Schinkel’s “scenographic” planning of Berlin. In addition, Schinkel’s buildings sometimes incorporated Schlüteresque motifs. This is evident in an early design for the *Neue Wache* in which a series of sculpted heads, memorably described by Hitchcock as a “Pergamenian extravagance that writhe forth from the frieze above,” recalled Schlüter’s famous sculptural portrayals of the faces of dying warriors in the courtyard of the *Zeughaus*, located just next door. The esteem with which Schinkel held his Baroque forbearer is also evident in the monumental bronze doors of the *Bauakademie*, where a portrait head of Schlüter accompanied depictions of Erwin von Steinbach and Albrecht Dürer in a scheme that juxtaposed Germanic artistic traditions with the classical models of Ichnius, Vitruvius, Michelangelo, and Palladio. For a detailed discussion of the *Bauakademie* decorative scheme, as well as the relationship between Schinkel’s architecture and the artistic heritage of Schlüter and Knobelsdorf, see Barry Bergdoll, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel: An Architect for Prussia* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1994). For an account of Schinkel’s appreciation of the *Alte Post*, which was torn down in 1889 and whose doors were incorporated into the *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, see Guido Hinterkeuser, “Andreas Schlüter und die Alte Post,” *Museums Journal*, 16 (July 2002): 46-48.

justifiable on this day dedicated to the celebration of Schinkel to also recall the name of Schlüter and to remember his work.⁴⁰

If it was still too early to celebrate Schlüter as an individual genius (there wasn't, after all, a *Schlüterfest* dedicated to him), Adler could at least place his name side-by-side with the classicist master. The Baroque was thereby made palatable through its alignment with the history of Prussian Classicism.

In the years following the establishment of the German Empire, scholars began to shift this emphasis on Schlüter's essential ties to Schinkel towards an alternative narrative that set the two architects on distinct historical trajectories. Instead of treating Schlüter as a component of Berlin's continuous classical development, art historians increasingly perceived him as part of the wider history of the Baroque. This can already be seen in Robert Dohme's publications on Schlüter in the mid-1870's. In his 1874 essay "*Barock- und Rococabauten in Berlin und Potsdam*," Dohme attempted to sketch out the general territory of the Prussian Baroque. As opposed to the typical categories established for the style, which separated Baroque architecture into an Italian direction that spanned from Michelangelo to Borromini and Pozzo, a French palace style that was shaped by Louis XIV, and a German development centered on the "excessive *Verwildung* of aesthetic feeling" brought about by the Jesuits, the emergence of the Baroque in Berlin and Potsdam was allied to the more "*nüchtern*" ("sober") building style of the Dutch.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Adler, *Andres Schlüter, Leben und Werke*, 23.

⁴¹ Robert Dohme, "Barock- und Rococabauten in Berlin und Potsdam," *Im neuen Reich* (1874), 53.

According to Dohme, the arrival of Schlüter in Berlin initiated a new direction. This was especially evident in his contributions to the Palace, which Dohme describes as “the most artistically important example of profane architecture of the Baroque period in Germany.”⁴² “At first view,” Dohme suggested, “the Palace reveals... a whole a new direction for Berlin.”⁴³ He based his assessment on the Roman character of Schlüter’s design and on the “*malerisch* principles” of its decorative details, which introduced a “disintegration of architectural forms into pure decoration.”⁴⁴ Ultimately, Dohme concluded, “If we ask ourselves wherein the contrast with the previous manner of architecture lies in this building, it is in... a free *malerisch* handling of architecture, the consideration of the interplay of light and shadow, and the fondness for great, imposing proportions and rich ornamentation.”⁴⁵ Whereas Adler’s use of phrases such as “*großartige ernste Pracht*” and “*imposanter auf den einfachsten Mitteln beruhender Größe*” still retained a connection to a vision of “pure classical beauty”, the version of Schlüter’s work established in Dohme’s account emphasized the Prussian master’s non-classical aspects.

It was during this time that Cornelius Gurlitt began to formulate his own theories about the German Baroque around the Prussian master’s designs. Gurlitt would come to transform the architectural reception of Schlüter more than any other scholar in the final

⁴² Ibid., 53.

⁴³ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 54. According to Dohme, Schlüter transformed a range of sources, including the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, Bernini’s project for the façade of the Louvre, and Perrault’s colonnade at the Louvre, into a highly individual composition.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 54. He also argued that Schlüter created “a strong, fresh Baroque architecture in luscious, full forms that are in some details unattractive, but of the noblest proportions and most majestic overall effect.”

decades of the nineteenth century. During his brief stint as a student at the *Bauakademie* in the early 1860's, Gurlitt experienced the Prussian Baroque through both Adler's lectures and in frequent visits to the Zeughaus and Royal Palace. From this foundation, the subject of Schlüter would be a continuing preoccupation. In an 1882 letter to his brother Wilhelm, he excitedly explained, "A specifically German Baroque art that begins with *Schlüter* and ends around 1750 in Augsburg and that is superior to all other schools in the richness of its ideas and in its abundance of fantasy reveals itself more and more clearly before my eyes."⁴⁶

Schlüter's architecture became a potent "*Kampfplatz*" for the ambitious young scholar. The Zeughaus and Palace functioned as centerpieces in Gurlitt's story of the Prussian Baroque and important loci in what he called "a struggle over fundamental principles."⁴⁷ Of the two buildings, the Zeughaus was the first to attract Gurlitt's scholarly attention.⁴⁸ **[Fig. 1.5]** During the first half of the 1880's, he developed a controversial reading of the building's chronology. First in a private letter to his brother and then in an essay published in 1884 for the journal *Kunstchronik*, Gurlitt suggested that the initial design for the Zeughaus was not conceived by the Dutch-born architect Johann Arnold Nering, as was generally thought. Instead, it was the creation of the

⁴⁶ Original emphasis. Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, May 3, 1882 (*Brief* 032/039), Gurlitt Nachlass, Technische Universität Dresden. All of Gurlitt's letters have been digitalized and are available through the university's website.

⁴⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, December 18, 1882 (*Brief* 032/042), Gurlitt Nachlass, Technische Universität Dresden.

⁴⁸ For a detailed analysis of Schlüter's contributions to the Zeughaus, see Isolde Dautel, *Andreas Schlüter und das Zeughaus in Berlin* (Petersburg: Michael Imhof, 2001).

French architect François Blondel.⁴⁹ Gurlitt had this bold attribution in mind when he declared in a letter to his brother that his research went “in an entirely different direction from the preliminary works of Woltmann, Ebe, Dohme, etc.”⁵⁰

This was far from a disinterested scholarly assessment or an exercise in connoisseurship.⁵¹ Throughout Gurlitt’s voluminous writings on the Baroque, Blondel embodied the basic tenets of a classical direction in architecture. According to Gurlitt, the French academician’s conception of beauty as articulated in his lectures and in the two volumes of his *Cours d’architecture* was based on the harmony resulting from the interplay of simple ratios and unified measures.⁵² Bolstered by the theoretical efforts of Alberti and the architectural designs of Palladio before him, Blondel believed that he could “catch beauty in the meshes of tables.”⁵³

In his discussion of the Zeughaus, Gurlitt used Blondel as a foil for the artistry and Germanness of Schlüter.⁵⁴ According to Gurlitt, despite the general paucity of

⁴⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, December 18, 1882 (*Brief* 032/042). For the essay, See Cornelius Gurlitt, “Die Meister des Berliner Zeughauses,” *Kunstchronik*, 19 (1884): 722-726.

⁵⁰ He continued, “Dohme ist eifrig bemüht, sich den Rücken zu decken. Meine Absicht ist, ihm goldene Brücken zu bauen.” Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, February 7, 1887.

⁵¹ Gurlitt’s close involvement with contemporary architectural issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 in relation to the architect Paul Wallot’s design of the Reichstag Building.

⁵² His longest account of Blondel occurs in *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassicismus in Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1888).

⁵³ “[Blondel] glaubt die Schönheit in den Maschen von Tabellen auffischen zu können.” Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassicismus in Belgien*, 154.

⁵⁴ The same is true in Gurlitt’s frequent mention of Claude Perrault. He contrasts the rigidity of Blondel’s theory with the writing and architecture of Perrault. Perrault is cast as a creative visionary unhindered by over-strict attention to tradition. In his analysis of Perrault’s notions of “arbitrary” and “positive” beauty as developed in the 1683 book *Ordonnance des cinq especes de colonnes selon la méthode de anciens*, Gurlitt argued that he observed the inaccuracies in the proportions of ancient architecture and became determined that the Orders themselves were “the result of an arbitrary, that is free, act of brilliantly gifted artists.” By carefully selecting and then creatively (and sometimes forcibly) editing passages from Perrault’s writings that lent themselves to his agenda, Gurlitt effectively transformed common arguments against Perrault’s

documentation related to early schemes for the project, a formal disjunction could be detected in two early depictions of the project's façade.⁵⁵ In both images, a gigantic cartouche ornament, no longer extant at the time of Gurlitt's writing, accentuated the central axis of the façade. [Fig. 1.6] In addition, a fifteen-foot high fascia crowned by sculptural figures and filled with richly designed reliefs dominated the front elevation. Gurlitt argued that by literally "enrobing" the exterior shell of the Zeughaus with a layer of decoration, Schlüter took the "chaste utility" ("*schlichte Zweckmässigkeit*") of the existing Blondel design and gave it "the appearance of a palace."⁵⁶ Similarly, in his history of the Baroque in Germany, he argued, "He sought to animate [*beleben*] Blondel's academically dry façade through the feeling of the German Baroque."⁵⁷

When compared to Blondel's aesthetic formulae, Schlüter's additions appeared to overwhelm the strict dictates of Classical beauty. In a way that hearkened back to Michelangelo at the very beginning of the Baroque, they displayed the "*Ich des Künstlers*." According to Gurlitt, this was clear from even a quick glance at the surviving Zeughaus façade. Even through Jean de Bodt's classicizing reworking of the building

lawlessness – his "false classicism", as the art historian Hans Rose would later call it – into a celebration of artistic freedom and individuality. Hans Rose, *Spätbarock: studien zur Geschichte des Profanenbaues in den Jahren 1660-1760* (München: Hugo Bruckmann, 1922), x. It was not too far of a step, therefore, from Gurlitt's depiction of Perrault's theory, which privileged "the right of making independent changes to traditional forms," to a celebration of Perrault's design for the façade of the Louvre. Gurlitt claims, "[The façade] satisfies the strict demand of French rule, but it does not occur... that the rule was a hindrance to creative impulse." Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassicismus in Belgien*, 147. Wolfgang Herrmann noted that Gurlitt was the first modern historian to deal with the subject of Blondel and Claude Perrault's competing views. See Wolfgang Herrmann, *The Theory of Claude Perrault* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1973).

⁵⁵ These were a drawing that Gurlitt found in the collection of the *Ingenieurkorp* in Berlin and an engraving from a 1698 edition of the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*.

⁵⁶ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1891), 80.

⁵⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1889), 378.

beginning in 1699 rendered many of Schlüter's original contributions invisible, Gurlitt claimed, "Whoever looks at this famous building with impartial eyes would feel that without its sculptural decoration – in other words just as Blondel designed it –, it would be a work of pure academic spirit, correct but in no way brilliant."⁵⁸

The same issues were central to Gurlitt's even more controversial theories concerning the construction of the Royal Palace. **[Fig. 1.7]** Similar to his interpretation of the Zeughaus, Gurlitt cast the complex building chronology of the Palace following Schlüter's appointment as *Schlossbaudirektor* in 1699 as a struggle between competing philosophies of design. On one side lay the normative tenets of aesthetic Classicism and on the other the comparatively unrestrained *Individualismus* of the Baroque.⁵⁹ In a widely publicized lecture presented at the Berlin *Architekturverein* in 1882, Gurlitt argued that Schlüter was never in Italy (a position that he would soon retract) and that he did not design the *Schlossplatz* façade of the Palace. The generally accepted theory amongst scholars was that Schlüter began a large-scale renovation of the Palace at the end of the seventeenth century that included the building's monumental facades, its large courtyard and many of its finest interiors. Gurlitt maintained that these Baroque-era changes to the building stemmed from the work of two successive architects and not from the hand of Schlüter alone. The stylistic discrepancy between the building's overall façade composition and its *Lustgarten* and *Schlossplatz* portals convinced Gurlitt of a more complicated chronology than was hitherto ascribed to the project. In contrast to the

⁵⁸ Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 79. In his article for *Kunstchronik*, Gurlitt contended, "In ganz Deutschland gibt es in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts keinen Bau in so strengem, von barockem Detail freien Stil, wie ihn das Zeughaus aufweist, der nicht von Franzosen oder Holländern errichtet worden wäre." Gurlitt, "Die Meister des Berliner Zeughauses," 722-723.

⁵⁹ It was, according to Gurlitt, around Schlüter's design that "the artistic parties began to assemble themselves." Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 129.

façade, which gave the unmistakable impression of projects such as the Palazzo Madama in Rome, the portals displayed a more “*malerisch*” character in line with Schlüter’s previous work at buildings like *Schloss Wilenow*. Based on this observation, Gurlitt argued that Schlüter’s contributions to the exterior of the building were limited to the exterior projections, the two-storey gallery facing onto the courtyard, and the courtyard portals. The remaining sections of the courtyard and, most importantly, the overall parti of the façade must have stemmed from an Italian design that predated Schlüter’s arrival at the project.

Importantly, Gurlitt’s bold pronouncements were once again derived from a method of “*Stilkritik*” that privileged the unmediated visual observation of monuments. Recalling the tone of his Zeughaus analysis, Gurlitt argued, “It becomes clear to the unbiased eye of the professional that essential parts of the Palace... are un-Roman in design and detail.”⁶⁰ He recollected elsewhere:

As I once again stood in front of the Berlin Palace after a long sojourn in the South and an extended engagement with the Baroque architecture of Italy, a long-held feeling of mine grew into a conviction: The architect who designed the portal against the *Lustgarten* could not at the same time be the inventor of the façade’s background [*Rücklagen*], since the one is strongly Italian and the other thoroughly German.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 132.

⁶¹ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Schlüters Antheil am Berliner Schlossbau,” *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 39 (1889), 323.

Like a connoisseur of paintings who determines attributions based on distinctions in the application of paint or differences in the rendering of earlobes, Gurlitt contended that the eye carried as much weight as the archive.⁶²

Gurlitt's theories about the palace drew an immediate rebuttal. In a letter to his brother written in 1882, he confided, "You can well imagine that this caused a considerable row!"⁶³ With such an important part of Berlin's architectural history at stake, scholars such as Richard Dohme demanded that Gurlitt's diminishing of Schlüter's role in the project be backed up with solid documentary evidence.⁶⁴ In order to reconcile his subjective impressions with archival proof, Gurlitt and a friend visited a collection of city views located in Berlin. It was there, as he described it, that the smoking gun appeared in "one of the first pages which fell into our hands." The propitious document was a view by the French-born engraver Jean Baptiste Broebes of the *Lustgarten* façade of the Palace at the time of Schlüter's involvement. In the image, a piece of text at the bottom of the building's socle read, "*du Dessen du Sr D. Schlüter Archt Et Sculpteur de S M P.*" [Fig. 1.8] Directly above this was written "*Baronini.*" Gurlitt was struck by the similarity of this name to "Borromini" and speculated that the Lustgarten façade of the

⁶² He referred to this method as a kind of "*Formen-Mnemotechnik*", an art historical tactic only possible because of his own "sharpened feeling for the style variations of the Baroque era". In the process of looking back at his early travels in preparation for writing the *Geschichte des Barockstiles* series, Gurlitt later described, "At that time I had seen the Baroque so much and so intensively that I could find contact points of a stylistic kind even if the objects lay spatially far apart from each other." Cornelius Gurlitt, "Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung," *Berliner Architekturwelt*, 14 (1911), 82.

⁶³ Cornelius Gurlitt, letter to Wilhelm Gurlitt, Dresden, December 18, 1882 (*Brief* 032/042)

⁶⁴ In response to Dohme's criticisms, Gurlitt pointed to reports by J. G. Droysen's *Zur Quellenkritik der deutschen Geschichte im 17. Jahrhundert* (1864) and B. Simson's *Urkunden und Actenstücke der zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (1865). Gurlitt contended that these sources indicated Blondel's presence in Berlin from 1657-1658. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, 326.

palace, the elusive pre-work against which Schlüter developed the design for the portals, might have come from the hand of none other than Francesco Borromini.⁶⁵

Gurlitt's theory was based on his conviction that Schlüter's deeply engrained sense of originality would have precluded him from producing a design that borrowed so directly from Italian motifs. Although it was widely known that Schlüter had been sent to Rome in search of plaster casts of ancient sculptures for the collection of the *Akademie*, Gurlitt did not believe that the German master could have sunken to the level of a mere copyist based on his brief experience south of the Alps. He claimed:

I can not believe that the German master, at the height of his accomplishments and in the two most important architectural projects of his career – the Palace façade and the Cathedral – would have been led to sink to the level of a copyist during the short trip to Rome. The German artists of that time, who almost all knew Rome and Italy, never stooped to this level of dependency. They always positioned their Baroque over that of the Italians and consciously made national works. And the most important German

⁶⁵ Gurlitt argued that the fact that Borromini died in 1667 – well before, that is, the beginning of work on the new Palace design – could be attributed to the plan's storage in a royal vault, where it could have been discovered by Schlüter after his arrival on the job. Alternatively, Gurlitt suggested that the plan could have been conveyed by the brothers Giovanni Maria and Francesco Baratta, Italian sculptors and students of Borromini who were already working in Berlin in the 1680's. In both of these cases, Gurlitt established the beginning of construction at 1685, closer in time to Borromini and in line with the arrival of the Barattas. It was not long until such brazen speculation was countered by critiques from Borrmann and Robert Dohme. In future publications, including his 1891 biography of Schlüter, Gurlitt reestablished the beginning of improvements to the Palace at 1698 and assumed a more vague approach to the question of who exactly might have been responsible for an earlier plan. Nevertheless, he remained steadfast in his conviction that the formal discrepancy legible on the surface of the building indicated a separate building phase from before Schlüter's ascendancy as *Schlossbaudirektor*. For Gurlitt's reflections on these issues, See Cornelius Gurlitt, "Zur Baugeschichte Berlins," *Beiblatt zur Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 19, no. 18 (February 14, 1884): 293-314.

artist of this time should alone abandon his type of art and prove unresisting to Rome?⁶⁶

To the contrary, Gurlitt was convinced that the Italian appearance of the façade made Schlüter's own more limited additions to the project all the more powerful. "Through a bold intervention," Gurlitt argued, "he created an ambitious, vertically decorated whole more in line with German feeling – he took the look of a Roman manor [*“römischen Herrensitz”*] and elevated it into a Prussian Royal Palace."

It was this very boldness, however, which led to Schlüter's dramatic dismissal from the role of *Schlossbaudirektor*. In each of his writings on the Palace, Gurlitt devoted special attention to the saga of the construction of the *Münzturm* (Mint Tower). Schlüter envisioned the compact vertical form of the tower design, stretching upwards towards two levels of open colonnades, as a monumental addition to the north-west corner of the Palace. Soon after the start of construction in 1702, structural problems with the building's foundations began to result in foreboding cracks across its surface and even in a measurable amount of sinking. Schlüter attempted to remedy the situation with a corrected second design featuring an enlarged base system aimed at spreading the load of the structure. When this solution didn't work, Friedrich I invited a committee of architects made up of Johann Friedrich Eosander von Göthe, Martin Grüneberg, and Leonhard Christoph Sturm to the site in order to make suggestions about the feasibility of continuing the project.⁶⁷ The committee recommended demolition of the existing

⁶⁶ Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 133-134.

⁶⁷ In addition to the structural problems of the Palace, Schlüter's design for the King's palace at Freienwalde almost collapsed in a heavy storm.

construction and the creation of a new scheme by a different architect. Schlüter was demoted to the position of court sculptor and the design of the palace was taken over in 1707 by Eosander von Göthe.⁶⁸ “With Schlüter,” Gurlitt reflected, “the Baroque would be defeated so that it soon vanished from Berlin.”⁶⁹

Schlüter’s downfall marked the beginning of a phase of classicist architecture that reached uninterrupted all the way through to Schinkel, Bötticher, and their followers.⁷⁰ Gurlitt’s conception of the Baroque therefore necessitated an extended scope. In addition to debates from the turn of the eighteenth century, his narrative of the style included a reassessment of the nineteenth century products of Prussian *Klassizismus* itself. In addition to positioning Schlüter against figures like Blondel, Gurlitt directly contrasted the artistic spirit of the Prussian Master with Schinkel. “It will only be decided in the coming century,” he proclaimed, “whether Palladio or Schinkel stands closer to the spirit of classical architecture!”⁷¹

⁶⁸ Schlüter eventually suffered a nervous breakdown, spending the final portion of his life at the court in Dresden in a thankless pursuit of creating a perpetual motion machine. After his death in St. Petersburg, the Prussian court would not even allow Schlüter’s wife to receive a stipend.

⁶⁹ Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 188.

⁷⁰ Gurlitt suggested, “[Sturm] turned decisively against the Baroque, whose fantastical ingenuity conflicted with his type of methodology just as it later did with the Hellenistic Berlin School.” Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, 69.

⁷¹ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887), 4. At the end of *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, Gurlitt described the wide spread of the classical direction in architecture starting at the end of the eighteenth century: “Was in England die Brüder Adams und Wyatt, in Frankreich Contant, Soufflot, de Wailly, Gondouin, Clérissieu, Chalgrin, Leroy, Antoine, Vignon, und die Architekten des Kaiserreiches, in Belgien Dewez und Guimard, in Rußland Quarenghi, Rossi und Montferrand, in Italien Piranesi, Albertolli und Simonetti erstrebren und schufen, das fand in Deutschland durch Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf, Johann Gottfried Jussow, Friedrich Weinbrenner, Friedrich Gilly, Franz von Thurn, Karl von Fischer und Ferdinand von Fischer, Georg Ludwig Laves, Peter von Nobile u.A. Aufnahme und Fortbildung zu jenen Stil, als dessen Vollender wir Soane, Percier und Fontaine, Klenze und Schinkel verehren.” Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, 482.

Gurlitt's most detailed discussion of Schinkel and his followers occurred in his 1899 book *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*.⁷² In its adoption of the same kind of dichotomous rubric that structured his previous writings, the book was in many ways a direct continuation of his work on the Baroque. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the architect Friedrich August Krubsacius, and the subsequent work of "Klassiker" such as Friedrich Gilly, Carl Gotthard Langhans, Friedrich Weinbrenner, Leo von Klenze, and Schinkel function as a foil in Gurlitt's narrative. He described:

From Palladio to the classicists of the end of the 18th century; to Francois Mansart, Juvarra and Soufflot; to Wren, Kent, Adam, Soane; to the Empire of France; to Schinkel, Klenze and Hansen, the modern masters of the Renaissance and the Gothic were led by a similar aspiration, a similar spirit: subordination under the model, a spirit that Michelangelo fought and that defeated the Baroque and Rococo.⁷³

The influence of this strain of architecture in Germany was perfectly encapsulated in the "Stilgerechtigkeit" of Schinkel. Gurlitt characterized his main contribution as "stripping" architecture of its "Baroque individuality." He argued:

⁷² Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899). The book was part of a larger series on the nineteenth century in Germany. Gurlitt's contribution to the series appeared alongside others by the philosopher Theobald Ziegler, the historian Fritz Hoenig, and the economist Werner Sombart. Bondi was also one of the main publishers for the work of Stefan George and his circle, including George's own *Blätter für die Kunst*, produced beginning in 1892. At just over 700 pages, contemporary reviewers characterized the book as a highly subjective monument to Gurlitt's personal view of the development of art and architecture in the nineteenth century. Indeed, Gurlitt himself referred to the work as "a kind of autobiography." He noted that rather than recording nineteenth century developments from "a high vantage point", his approach emerged "directly in the middle of them." Cornelius Gurlitt, "Cornelius Gurlitt," in *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, ed. Johannes Jahn (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1924), 17.

⁷³ Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 73.

Schinkel was imagined to be kindred with the Hellenes and at the same time so German that one came to the view that the German and the Hellenic were deeply connected in spirit. In the same way that loving mothers always discover similarities between their children and the father, those who formulated and followed this line of thought untiringly proclaimed the argument: Through Schinkel, Hellas is brought back to life in Germany – after over two thousand years the window has with us once again been opened to the light of beauty. It rose in Berlin!⁷⁴

By glossing over the wide range of Schinkel's accomplishments, including his pursuit of a synthesis between the Gothic and Classical modes of design and his material experimentation with brick, Gurlitt cast him as an embodiment of a stale classical spirit.⁷⁵

Gurlitt perceived Schinkel as an architectural endpoint. He represented the conclusion of an art historical interregnum that stood between Schlüter and the reemergence of the Baroque. This conception of Schlüter cast the Prussian Baroque in a very different light than the scholarly viewpoint represented by Adler. Gurlitt would later recall that his work on Schlüter forced him to confront directly his former teacher in order “to pave the way for many new ideas concerning the architectural history of Berlin.”⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 72.

⁷⁵ By the time of an 1891 essay on the legacies of Prussian classicism written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Schinkel's death, Gurlitt could even go so far as to suggest that the influence of Schinkel on present-day architecture had already been eclipsed. Schinkel had, according to the article, been replaced by a new kind of architecture based on the main aesthetic strategies of the Baroque. Cornelius Gurlitt, “Gontard und Schinkel,” *Die Gegenwart* 42 (1891): 252-253.

⁷⁶ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Cornelius Gurlitt,” 8.

The Expanded Baroque

The architectural ramifications of Gurlitt's narrative will be discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to his close connection to the architect Paul Wallot. It is important to note here, however, that his discussion of Schlüter and Schinkel signaled the more general ascendancy of the Baroque in Berlin. Already in 1879, in fact, Adolf Rosenberg wrote that the "reign of the Hellenistic Renaissance, founded in the North of Germany by Schinkel and his school and in the South by L[eo] v[on] Klenze and his imitators has for the past twenty years been in such a decisive decline that it already belongs to history."⁷⁷ A correspondent for *Harper's Magazine* contrasted the "fine qualities of the noblest art" emanating from Schlüter's Palace with the buildings of the "terrible Schinkel" and his students.⁷⁸ The writer connected the *Schinkelschule* to the "queer Neo-Greek eccentricities so common in Germany since the days of Winckelmann, Lessing, and the Schlegels."⁷⁹

In the final third of the nineteenth century, several projects brought architects face to face with Schlüter's Baroque. In 1883, for example, the architects Ende and Böckmann designed an addition to the Villa Kamecke (known as the "*Loge Royal York*").⁸⁰ **[Fig.**

1.9] The project added a new wing housing a refectory and meeting rooms to the east side

⁷⁷ Adolf Rosenberg, *Architektur Deutschlands* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1879), iii.

⁷⁸ Theodore Child, "Impressions of Berlin," *Harper's Magazine* 81 (1890): 347. "Schinkel and Stüler," the author proclaims, "were the great enemies of the so-called rococo style, or 'Zopf spirit'... Like the men who built the new Munich, they believed only in the architecture of Greece and Rome; and again, like the accomplices of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, their Helleno-Italic craziness caused them to consider slavish imitation of the ancients to be the only acceptable form of originality."

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 347.

⁸⁰ Built in 1711, Schlüter's original design for the building constituted the last of his completed projects in Berlin.

of Schlüter's original building. In a review of the project, K. E. O. Fritsch applauded Ende and Böckmann's use of a Schlüter-esque language. He noted, "They went along with the pronounced wishes of the protectors of the *Loge* in choosing that period of the Renaissance that belongs to the German capital's best selection of old buildings: the period of Schlüter and the direction of the Baroque style founded by this master."⁸¹

In 1880, the architect Friedrich Hitzig transformed the Zeughaus into a German "Hall of Honor."⁸² **[Fig. 1.10]** In 1871, Wilhelm I repurposed the structure from a weapons arsenal into a museum and "pantheon of the Brandenburg-Prussian army."⁸³ Hitzig enclosed the building's courtyard under an expansive glass roof. In addition to Schlüter's famous sculptures of the faces of dying warriors, the courtyard housed a gigantic marble statue of "Borussia" carved by the Neo-Baroque sculptor Reinhold Begas. Hitzig also added vaulted ceilings to the upper floor of the structure and created a new monumental domed hall in the middle of the north wing. Situated on the second floor of the building, this "Rulers Hall" was reached by a new monumental staircase ascending from the courtyard. The staircase was modeled after one originally planned for the courtyard by Jean de Bodt in 1710.

⁸¹ "Sie wählten, wie begreiflich, die unserer Zeit verständlichste Sprache, die der Renaissance, und zwar schlossen sie sich im Einklang mit den seitens des hohen stellvertretenden Protektors der Loge ausgesprochenen Wünschen, jener Periode der Renaissance an, der die deutsche Hauptstadt ihre besten Bestandtheil des Hauses bildende alte Gebäude angehört: der Periode Schlüters und der von diesem Meister begründeten Richtung des deutschen Barockstiles." K. E. O. Fritsch, "Berliner Neubauten. Das Haus der Loge 'Royal York', Dorotheenstr. 27," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 40 (May 19, 1883), 245.

⁸² For a recent description of the evolution of the museum and its collections, see Ulrike Kretzschmar and Hans Ottomeyer, *Das Berliner Zeughaus: Vom Waffenarsenal zum Deutschen Historischen Museum* (München: Prestel 2006).

⁸³ In addition to a wide selection of arms, artillery and other implements from the history of the Prussian military, the building displayed a collection of war trophies. These included models of French fortresses, arms, and flags brought back from Paris in 1814. In addition, regimental flags captured from the French in 1870 were prominently displayed.

Hitzig was well-prepared for an engagement with the Zeughaus, since he had long admired the work of Schlüter. For example, his 1859-63 competition-winning design for the *Berliner Börse* (Berlin Stock Exchange Building) achieved a monumental character through its sandstone construction – the first such building in Berlin in the nineteenth century – and its row of giant Corinthian columns which stretched out between projecting pavilions. Eva Börsch-Supan has described the building as combining “Shinkelesque elements with a clear turn towards the Baroque”⁸⁴ Hitzig’s composition reminded late-nineteenth century critics of Claude Perrault’s design for the East façade of the Louvre in Paris, but with a heightened attention to sculptural plasticity that resonated with Schlüter’s own nearby decorations for the Zeughaus.

The transformation of the Zeughaus shows that the demotion of Prussian *Klassizismus* to the dusty pages of history books was more than a mere question of style. It was a matter of overt historical posturing. Just like the exhibition hall at the *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* in 1886, Hitzig’s plan for the building’s new Rulers Hall included depictions of the coronation of Friedrich I and the proclamation of Wilhelm I at the Versailles Hall of Mirrors in 1871. According to one commentator, the overt militaristic allusions and architectural grandeur of the revamped Zeughaus demonstrated to visitors

⁸⁴ Eva Börsch Supan, *Berliner Baukunst nach Schinkel, 1840-1870* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1977). For a short description of the building, see also Dieter Dolgner, *Historismus: Deutsche Baukunst, 1815-1900* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1993), 68-70. The building’s robust architectural vocabulary would lead Henry-Russell Hitchcock to characterize the *Börse* as “neither Schinkelesque nor *Rundbogenstil* but in a rather academic sort of Late Baroque.” Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), 155. Although seeming to contrast with Börsch-Supan’s characterization of the building, Hitchcock’s assessment might be attributed at least in part to his more general desire to represent Schinkel as “the most architectonic of architects” and as “a master of the New Tradition born far too soon” who helped free modern architecture from the clutches of Baroque tradition. *Ibid.*, 155.

“the greatness of the Hohenzollerns, and the glory and importance of the victory of Sedan.”⁸⁵

The evolution of the Zeughaus begins to show that the idea of a *Spree-Athen* central to the neo-humanist ideals of the 1820's was deemed less suitable for Berlin's representational desires at the end of the century.⁸⁶ As Lionel Gossman has shown, dreams of the possibility of a new Periclean age that arose in the wake of the Wars of Liberation against Napoleon had been superseded after Prussia's resounding military and political victories in the 1860's and 1870's. He suggested, “The pathos of freedom in its idealized Winckelmannian and neohumanist form had begun to seem outdated, irrelevant, even hypocritical, suitable at best for the classroom where it did not have to come into contact with contemporary reality... The times were no longer right in Germany for Schinkel's austere, Doric *Neue Wache* or the noble bas-reliefs Schadow had designed for Langhan's Brandenburg Gate.”⁸⁷ Instead of Athens on the Spree, Berlin had become, to use Gustav Droysen's characterization of Prussia, “the Macedonia of Germany.”⁸⁸

As opposed to the principles of Humboldtian “*Bildung*” and Winckelmannian antiquity embodied in Schinkel's famous 1825 painting *Blick in Griechenlands Blüte*, Berlin now found an appropriate expression of its political and artistic ascendancy in the power of the Late-Antique. Alongside Schlüter, Berlin had rediscovered the “Hellenistic

⁸⁵ Theodore Child, “Impressions of Berlin,” 346.

⁸⁶ This can also be seen in the architect Ludwig Hoffmann's temporary addition to Schinkel's *Neue Wache* on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Wilhelm I, which appended a canvas *Oberbau* onto the original building that stretched between two new monumental obelisks created for the occasion.

⁸⁷ Lionel Gossman, “Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (September 2006): 575.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 585.

Baroque.” This is evident in an 1883 review of Hitzig’s project for the *Zeughaus* by the art historian and director of the Berlin *Kunstgewerbemuseum* Julius Lessing. In a discussion of the building’s new courtyard, Lessing celebrated the preservation of Schlüter’s sculptures of the faces of dying warriors.⁸⁹ He noted the “perplexing similitude” that art historians and members of the public had come to feel between the *Sterbender Krieger* at the Zeughaus and the recently discovered remains of the second century BC Pergamon Altar.⁹⁰ Sculptures from the altar were on display nearby in the rotunda of Schinkel’s Altes Museum.

Commissioned for the acropolis at Pergamon by King Eumenes II in the second century B.C. to commemorate his victory over the Galatians, the dramatic artistic language of the Pergamon Frieze appeared to overstep the expressive capacities of individual art forms. Although scholars such as Suzanne Marchand, Lionel Gossmann, and Alina Payne have recently discussed the frieze’s important place in late-nineteenth century Baroque debate and its role in Prussian political self-representation, a discussion of the artifact here will help illustrate the place of the Baroque in architectural discourse in Berlin.⁹¹ Whether commentators saw the frieze as a sign of artistic evolution or a kind

⁸⁹ Starting with Robert Dohme’s publication of a folio-sized plate book devoted to the subject, the dying soldier sculptures had been widely discussed amongst architects and art historians for their direct expression of intense emotion and their dramatic formal effects. See Robert Dohme, *Die Masken sterbender Krieger im Lichthofe des königlichen Zeughauses zu Berlin* (Berlin: Paul Bette, 1883).

⁹⁰ Julius Lessing, “Zeughaus und Ruhmeshalle in Berlin,” *Westermann’s Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte* 55 (October 1883– March 1884), 808. Lessing’s thought was confirmed in the scholar Konrad Sacher’s discovery in the frieze of “the same artistic practice, the same spirit dominating everything and best described, in view of its essential character, as modern. “You will better understand,” he continued, “how modern this art is when I tell you that it is of Michelangelo and Schlüter that the sculptures of the frieze most remind us.” Quoted in Gossmann, “Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany,” 559.

⁹¹ See Gossmann, “Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany”; Alina Payne, “Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin, and German art history at the fin de siècle.” *RES*:

of formal virtuosity characteristic of periods of decline, it was consistently identified with the historical emergence of the Baroque.⁹² The archaeologist Arnold von Sallis declared, “The art of Pergamon is related essentially, not accidentally, to the Baroque art of the seventeenth century.”⁹³ According to Jacob Burckhardt, the frieze would “make Phidias tremble on his throne.”⁹⁴

This ancient Baroque was, in fact, a central ingredient in the 1886 *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*. Starting in 1885, the architects Adolph Heyden and Walter Kyllmann organized a private, for-profit initiative to construct an “amusement quarter” across the elevated *Stadtbahn* tracks from the main exhibition hall.⁹⁵ Starting just after six o’clock in the evening on June 25, 1886, over 1300 actors and members of the *Akademie der*

Anthropology and Aesthetics 53/54 (Autumn 2008): 173-189; Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁹² The art historian Josef Strzygowski expressed this sentiment in 1898 when he noted, “The discovery of the Pergamon sculptures in particular contributed to providing a more certain conception of the Baroque.” Josef Strzygowski, *Das Werden des Barock bei Raphael und Corregio* (Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1898), 78.

⁹³ Arnold von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in Kleinasien* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), 3. Salis devoted the first eight pages of the Introduction to this book to the connection between Pergamon and the artistic language of the Baroque. He noted, “*Dieselben Dinge, die man an den Symptomen des Barock auszusetzen hatte, entdeckten sich dem kritischen Blick auch in der Kunst von Pergamon.*” Ibid., 5. For other treatments of this theme, see Theod. Schreiber, “Die Barockelemente der hellenistischen Kunst,” in *Verhandlungen der Einundvierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in München* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1892), 73-80; Wilhelm Klein, *Vom Antiken Rokoko* (Wien: Eduard Hölzel, 1921).

⁹⁴ Burckhardt’s complete comment, written in a letter to a friend, reads: “*Diese Entdeckung hat den Archaeologen ihre Systeme sauber durcheinandergeworfen! Die halbe Aesthetik ist mit zu Boden gerüttelt; alles was über das Pathos im Laokoon geschriben worden, ist Maculator seitdem man diese fürchterlich herrlichen Evenements hat. Denkt Euch eine zwar in Stücken aufgestellten, aber meist zusammenhaengenden Fries (von jetzt schon weit über 200’ Laenge), lauter 8 Fuss hohe Goetter im Kampf mit Giganten, weit cortretend und nahezu Freisculptur; ein Beissen, Hauen, Schlagen, Zerquetschen mit Hülfe vo maechtigen Hunden und Loewen, waehrend die Schlangenenden vier Giganten sich wieder zu Koepfen bilden und die Goetter in Rücken und Waden beissen, Alles sans ombre de generosite! Der Style stellenweisen so, dass Phidias auf seinem Throne zittert.*” Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe* (Basel, 1949-1994), 67. Quoted in Gossman, “Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany,” 551.

⁹⁵ For a more detailed account of the planning of this part of the exhibition, see Anke Böhne. “Archäologie und Kommerz: Die Jubiläumskunstaussstellung der Akademie der Künste 1886 in Berlin,” *Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 39 (2002): 201-236.

Künste dressed in Greek costume took part in a grand procession through these grounds. As part of a day-long “Pergamon Fest” that included an array of refreshments, special souvenirs, and popular attractions like a reconstruction of the Trojan Horse, a large tableaux of the flaying of Marsyas, and a ride on which visitors could cross the river Styx and enter the underworld on Charon’s boat, the so-called “Victory Parade” (“*Triumphzug*”) sought to reenact the triumphal procession of King Attalos I after a decisive military victory. The parade included a music corps, Pergamene citizens, Nubian archers, carts filled with war booty, captured women and children, “sacrificial” animals, priests and priestesses, a glimmering royal quadriga, a large portrait of Attalos I, a sculpture of Nike covered with laurel branches, the royal guard and, finally, a group of ordinary Pergamenes. The rollicking parade progressed in sequence around the elaborately decorated grounds, passing near Kayser & von Großheim’s exhibition building as well as around the entertainment section’s main attractions. These included the “Osteria” (a restaurant building in vernacular Italian style), the “Kaiser-Diorama” (an Egyptian temple pavilion housing a series of five dioramas depicting German colonial activities in central Africa), a full-scale model of a monumental Roman Baroque obelisk in honor of Wilhlem I and, finally, the “Temple of Zeus.” [Fig. 1.11] The parade culminated with great fanfare as priestesses performed dances, a golden statue of Athena was carried to the temple’s altar area, and prisoners were released with great jubilation.⁹⁶ The festivities ended with a pantomime entitled “The Sculptor from Tanagra,” which portrayed the triumph of polychromy in ancient Greek sculpture and, like many other

⁹⁶ Georg Voss, “Das griechische Fest im Berliner Ausstellungspark,” *Kunst für Alle* (1886): 287-288. A description of the parade can also be found in: Anke Bohne, “Archäologie und Kommerz: Die Jubiläumskunstaussstellung der Akademie der Künste 1886 in Berlin.”

writings and paintings inspired by the highly naturalistic terracotta figures from Tanagra during this period, told the story of an ancient sculpture coming alive.

The temple was a particularly fitting endpoint for this strange spectacle. Constructed out of brick and plaster, it was composed from an incongruous amalgam of a full-scale, polychromatic reconstruction of the Eastern façade of the fifth-century Temple of Zeus at Olympia and a massive base wrapped with a plaster “copy” of the Hellenistic *Gigantomachia* frieze from Pergamon. This schizoid composition was meant to display the fruits of Germany’s two largest ongoing archaeological campaigns – the first at Olympia, led by the archaeologist Ernst Curtius since 1875, and the second at Pergamon, excavated starting in the 1870’s by the engineer and archaeologist Carl Humann.⁹⁷ The jarring synthesis of the reconstructed altar’s two strata-like elements served as an almost pedagogical illustration of the stylistic poles of ancient Greek art as it was understood after the discovery of the Pergamon remains.⁹⁸ The mature Doric composition of the temple facade and the turbulent, “*malerisch*” formal language of the Pergamon frieze provided a condensed view of artistic development into the *Spätantike*. According to the art historian Hermann Grimm, this was a lesson that could be literally felt on the grounds of the exhibition. It was a contrast, he argued, that “*jedes Auge muss empfinden.*”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Friedrich Adler worked at the Olympia site from 1874 to 1881.

⁹⁸ Upon discovering the Pergamon site, Carl Humann reportedly declared, “We have discovered...an entire new period in the history of art!” Quoted in Friedrich Karl and Eleonore Doerner, *Von Pergamon zum Nemrud Dag. Die archäologischen Entdeckungen Carl Humanns* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1989), 70.

⁹⁹ Herman Grimm, “Die Berliner Jubilaeumskunstaussstellung,” in *Aus den letzten Fünf Jahren. Fünfzehn Essays* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1890), 221. The sensation created by the Pergamon could, in fact, be thought of in the terms of a slide lecture. The archaeologist Hermann Brunn likened the work’s distortion of classical ideals to a pair of photographs of Pergamon and the Parthenon, which, when shown next to each other, would “sharpen the eye and an understanding of such deep inner oppositions (*Gegensätze*).” Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie* (Weidemann, 1884), 242.

These impressions were heightened through the sculptor Alexander Tondeur's "reconstruction" of the frieze.¹⁰⁰ Tondeur received a commission from the museum in 1882 to make casts of the principle figures. Rather than displaying the elements of the frieze according to their original composition and sequence, he re-imagined the order of the scene so that the more prominent Gods, starting with Zeus and Athena, would occupy the most visible locations of the temple's base.¹⁰¹ In addition, as illustrated in a folio publication of his versions of the *Gigantomachia* sculptures, he completed several of the individual figures by adding new limbs, heads, and even faces to the mythical combatants. The relief's background was flattened so that the already highly articulated figures, often described as almost sculptures in-the-round, would be more dramatically set against a solid back surface.

The attraction announced Berlin's arrival on the world stage as a major player in the unearthing and acquisition of antiquities and as a cultural center comparable in rank to other *Weltstädte* like London. Seen alongside the depictions of research expeditions to central Africa on display in the diorama building, the Temple of Zeus was an advertisement for the political prowess of the German Empire. Like the work of Schlüter, the Pergamon Frieze was directly incorporated into narratives of Prussian ascendancy. The Victory Parade was, after all, staged not only in honor of the much-publicized discovery of the Pergamon remains in 1871 by Humann (under whose bust the participants in the procession passed after the conclusion of the activities), but also as a

¹⁰⁰ Tondeur's reconstructions were published with an informative introduction by Adolf Trendelenberg in: Alexander Tondeur and Adolf Trendelenberg, *Die Gigantomachie des Pergamenischen Altars. Skizzen zu Wiederherstellung Derselben* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1884).

¹⁰¹ Archaeological work done in order to clarify the original order of the frieze elements was making great progress by the time of Tondeur's reconstruction. See L. R. Farnell, "The Works of Pergamon and their Influence," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 7 (1886): 251-274.

clear allusion to the victory parade at the Brandenburg Gate, also in 1871, organized in celebration of the triumph of Prussian-led forces over Napoleon III.¹⁰²

This spectacularization of the relationship between archaeology and political representation was extended to the inside of the Temple of Zeus as well. For the duration of the exhibition, an iron framework at the rear of the structure supported a 195 by 45 foot half-panorama painting representing the second century city of Pergamon during a festive procession in celebration of the start of the provincial *Landtag*.¹⁰³ [Fig. 1.12] Although panoramas were by no means a novel attraction in Berlin in the 1880's, the painting was one of the exhibition's most lucrative draws.¹⁰⁴ According to the *Illustrierte Zeitung Leipzig*, the panorama was "based on the latest excavations and research" and depicted the city of Pergamon "in all its old glory," yet "perhaps with a bit of overoptimistic exaggeration."¹⁰⁵ The image was executed by the painters Alexander Kips and Max Koch from sketches of the Pergamon site by the architect R. Bohm, as well as from their own first-hand experience of the excavations in 1885.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² For a full account of the frieze's political associations, see Gossmann, "Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelminian Germany."

¹⁰³ A description of the scene can be found in the brochure published for visitors to the panorama. See Ernst Fabricius and Ludwig Pietsch, *Führer durch das Pergamon-Panorama sowie durch das Kaiser-Diorama der centralafrikanischen Erforschungs-Expeditionen* (Berlin: Dominik, 1887).

¹⁰⁴ The educational role of the image is exemplified in its reproduction in August Baumeiter's 1889 book *Bilder aus dem griechischen und römischen Altertum für Schüler* (München: R. Oldenbourg). The publication was intended as an introduction to the classical world. The Pergamon panorama was eventually replaced with "The Burning of Rome in 64 A.D", which was in turn removed for "Kaiser Wilhelm II entering the Bosphorus." Both of these were created by the same painters who created the Pergamon panorama.

¹⁰⁵ *Illustrierte Zeitung Leipzig*, 81 (June 5, 1886), 566. Quoted in Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 258.

¹⁰⁶ A well-known reconstruction of the site by Friedrich von Thiersch was also published in 1883. See Friedrich von Thiersch, *Die Koenigsburg von Pergamon. Ein Bild aus der griechischen Vorzeit* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn, 1883). Although he is almost completely forgotten today, Koch's activity as a member of the teaching faculty at the Berlin *Kunstgewerbemuseum* and as a highly popular decorative painter went hand

In the panorama scene, groups of people on the far side of the Selinus River make their way through the market and towards the altar place in order to observe the procession, which winds its way through the valley in the direction of the city gates and the acropolis. In the immediate foreground of the painting, family members and guests congregate together on the terrace of a fantastical villa.¹⁰⁷ The image had the effect of transforming the Berlin public, at least those who could afford the 50 *Pfennig* entrance fee, into Pergamene onlookers.

In addition to collaborating on the panorama, Koch worked with the sculptor Joseph Kaffsack to organize the entire Pergamon Fest.¹⁰⁸ The theme of the Pergamon panorama had an uncanny similarity to the Victory Parade situated just outside. After viewing the parade, the painter Anton von Werner celebrated the way in which the artists and actors participating in the event “combined themselves into painterly mass ornaments

in hand with Berlin’s rapid growth after unification into a metropolis. His wide-ranging oeuvre, including a monumental diorama of Tokyo for the Japanese government in 1887, a half-panorama depicting “The Deluge” for the famous *Kaiser Panoptikum* on *Friedrichstrasse*, decorative friezes for the Reichstag Building, paintings for the renovation of the *Stadtschloss*, and a major painting depicting ancient commerce for the central hall of Alfred Messel’s Wertheim department store, shows the intimate adjacency during these years between politics, entertainment, commerce, and art. After the close of the 1886 exhibition, Koch collaborated on two new half-panorama paintings for the Temple of Zeus. They depicted the burning of Rome in the year and the arrival of Kaiser Wilhelm II in the Bosphorus. In Chapter 4, we will return to Koch in his role as collaborator with Otto Rieth on a portfolio of photographs entitled “*Der Act*.”

¹⁰⁷ The villa’s image was developed from designs by the architect Walter Kyllmann. Kyllmann was a well-known Berlin architect and co-organizer of the Temple of Zeus attraction. The villa’s classical architectural forms and its atmospheric connection to the surrounding landscape are reminiscent of the architect Bernard Sehring’s contemporary ideal project for a German artists’ residence in Rome (comprised by a series of renderings displayed in the main exhibition pavilion and that at the time earned him the nickname “the Böcklin of architecture”), but could have been equally at home in the gardens of nearby Potsdam.

¹⁰⁸ Koffsack also worked on sculptures for the niches of the central hall of the main exhibition pavilion. In addition to several sculptures for various settings in Leipzig, he collaborated with Otto Rieth on a competition design for the *Kaiser Wilhelm-Denkmal* in Düsseldorf, which won 3rd prize, and another for Breslau.

[“*malerischen Massenbildern*”] of indescribably magnificent effect.”¹⁰⁹ In a photograph by Ottomer Anschütz that Werner used to illustrate his account, the crowd lining the stairway of the temple becomes a form of architectural ornament. **[Fig. 1.13]** As the participants stand in place of the *Gigantomachia*, they themselves became a frieze.¹¹⁰ Moreover, whereas the illusionistic success of the panorama relied on its physical dislocation from the sights and noise of the exhibition, the parade’s finale was visually framed, as the art historian Hermann Grimm observed, by the site’s discordant array of attractions and the urban cityscape rising above the exhibition’s perimeter walls.¹¹¹ Rather than transporting the viewer into a simulated representation of Asia Minor, the parade proclaimed modern Berlin itself as *Pergamon an der Spree*. It was as if the staffage scattered across the canvas of the painting was turned into flesh and blood and the “modernity of antiquity,” as Droyson called the Hellenistic age, was transported into the most modern of *Großstädte*. Berlin had been reborn, and with it, the Baroque.

Wilhelm II and the Baroque as *Staatsreklame*

By the turn of the twentieth century, the political resonances of the Baroque had been fully absorbed into the “*offizielle Architektur*” of Berlin. This was especially true in

¹⁰⁹ Anton von Werner, *Erlebnisse und Eindrücke, 1870-1890* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1913), 466. As the creator of the famous image of the Battle of Sedan for the panorama building on Alexander Platz, von Werner was no stranger to the production of patriotic life-like spectacles.

¹¹⁰ In another image of the spectacle published by the *Illustrierte Zeitung*, a group of adults and children look on as a flowing mass of Pergamenes ascend the steps of the Temple of Zeus in order to participate in the parade’s concluding events. In this tangle of arms, legs, heads, helmets, spears and laurel, the procession becomes a kind of human architectural ornamentation.

¹¹¹ Grimm, “Die Berliner Jubilaeumskunstaussstellung,” 210.

the years following Wilhelm II's ascension to the throne of Imperial Germany in 1888.¹¹² In his decision to reinstate the Royal Palace as the official residence of the monarch and as a central symbol of the German Empire itself, Wilhelm was also deeply interested in the architectural legacy of Schlüter. He sought to utilize the political associations cultivated by events like the *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* in his roles not only as *König* and *Kaiser*, but also as *Schlossherr*. Not since Friedrich August Stüler's work on the so-called *Eosanderflügel* of the Schloss had the fabric of the building, as well as the *Spreeinsel* around it, gone through such ambitious renovation and reconfiguration.¹¹³ In the introductory essay to the inaugural issue of the journal *Berliner Architekturwelt* that was quoted from at the beginning of this chapter, the authors portrayed Wilhelm as one of the primary protectors of Schlüter's architecture against the rapid growth of the metropolis. "In thankful appreciation of this great genius," the authors described, "Kaiser Wilhelm II, the most venturesome and energetic client from the Hohenzollern lineage, contrived the project of surrounding Schlüter's building on all possible sides with structures that go along with the Italian Baroque style brought by him to Berlin."¹¹⁴ In their evocation of a Neo-Baroque buffer zone around the Schloss, the authors drew attention to Wilhelm's numerous monumental Neo-Baroque projects for the *Spreeinsel*.

¹¹² Wilhelm was a keen supporter of the Pergamon Frieze. The artifact was installed in 1901 in a Pergamon Museum designed by the architect Fritz Wolff. In commenting on the opening of the museum, he claimed, "I consider this to be a very important episode in the history of our art, and a good omen and a fortunate coincidence. What will be presented in this building to the admiring visitor is a wealth of beauty, the most splendid that can be conceived collected in one place."

¹¹³ Stüler's involvement with the Palace included the construction in 1845 of a monumental dome and the decorative remodeling from 1844-47 of the building's grand *Weisser Saal*. For a detailed account of his involvement with the Palace, see Albert Geyer, *Geschichte des Schlosses zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1992).

¹¹⁴ "Neue Erscheinungen in der Architektur Berlins," 12.

Taken together, buildings such as Julian Raschdorff's gargantuan Berlin *Dom*, Ernst von Ihne's new Royal Stable building, and the same architect's palatial Kaiser-Friedrich Museum facilitated Wilhelm's attempt to cast his own self-image in the monumental architectural language of the Baroque. Raschdorff's design for the *Dom*, completed with significant input from Wilhelm himself, was meant to provide a Protestant answer to the monumentality of St. Peter's in Rome.¹¹⁵ His early designs for the project, created in the mid-1880's, called for a connection between the palace and church and a soaring clock tower consciously evoking the image of Schlüter's ill-fated *Münzturm*.¹¹⁶ [Fig. 1.14]

In the *Hofarchitekt* Ernst von Ihne's design for the new Royal Stable building, begun in 1896 and finished in 1901, the building's highly visible Schlossplatz façade was given a decorative treatment in line with the language of the Palace.¹¹⁷ In a review of the newly completed building, the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* cited Ihne's extensive use of "the formal language of Berlin Baroque architecture in the period of Friedrich I."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Raschdorff's project replaced an earlier building on the same site by Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Schinkel's church, built from 1820-22, replaced another church by Johann Boumann, built from 1747-50. For a detailed account of the *Dom*'s development, see Jochen Schröder, *Die Baugestalt und das Raumprogram des Berliner Doms als Spiegel der Ansprüche und Funktionen des Bauherrn Kaiser Wilhelms II* (PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2002).

¹¹⁶ Images related to these stages of the project are housed at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität Berlin*.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of Ihne's built work, see Oliver Sander, "Ernst von Ihne (1848-1917) und seine Berliner Bauten," *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 35 (1998): 95-136.

¹¹⁸ "Berliner Neubauten: Das neue Königliche Marstall-Gebäude," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 34, no. 48 (June 16, 1900): 295. The reviewer adds, "In the choice of individual motifs – some reminiscent of the different parts of the Palace and others of the Zeughaus and other buildings, he understands how to create a work that represents itself as worthily going along with them, but also as a independent organism with an individual face." Ibid., 295.

Finally, in Ihne's design for the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, built from 1897 to 1904, he consciously employed the language of Baroque palace architecture in order to express Prussian monarchical patronage. **[Fig. 1.15]** With its external resonances with the Prussian Baroque and a copy of Schlüter's equestrian monument of the *Großen Kurfürsten* in the middle of the entry hall, the museum furthered the role of Baroque architecture on the *Spreeinsel*. It functioned as what Thomas Gaehtgens has called "monarchical-dynastic representational architecture."¹¹⁹ It was for this reason that Queen Victoria of Prussia herself famously dubbed Ihne the "modern Schlüter."¹²⁰

As many scholars have shown, the goals and methods of Wilhelm's kingship were also intimately related to his ceaseless *Bautätigkeit* at the Palace itself.¹²¹ In his extensive remodeling of the so-called *Weisser Saal* from 1889 to 1902, for example, Ihne transformed the hall from Stüler's plan into a space more closely related to its original configuration beginning in 1728. The new room was given a grand Neo-Baroque appearance through the application of a giant architectural order and an expansive ceiling electrically illuminated by hidden lights in order to create a striking golden effect visible to pedestrians standing on *Unter den Linden* or on the steps of the *Altes Museum*.¹²² In this way, the *Weisser Saal* represented Wilhelm's strategy to create an architectural image at the palace commensurate with the size and pretensions of the Empire itself.

¹¹⁹ Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *Die Berliner Museumsinsel im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Zur Kulturpolitik der Museen in der wilhelminischen Epoche* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1992), 35.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 35.

¹²¹ For accounts of Wilhelm II's architectural activities at the Palace, see Douglas Klahr, "Wilhelm II's Weisser Saal and its Doppelthron," *German History*, 27, no. 4 (2009): 490-513; Douglas Klahr, *The Kaiser Builds in Berlin: Expressing National and Dynastic Identity in the Early Building Projects of Wilhelm II* (PhD diss., Brown University, May 2002); Albert Geyer, *Geschichte des Schlosses zu Berlin*.

¹²² For a detailed discussion of the Weisser Saal, see Douglas Klahr, "Wilhelm II's Weisser Saal and its Doppelthron."

Wilhelm's attention to the palace as a stage for political display continued to the immediate exterior of the building as well. This can be clearly seen in his close involvement in the construction of a national monument in honor of Wilhelm I on the former site of the so-called "*Schlossfreiheit*" development, a hodgepodge of apartments and businesses situated along the *Kupfergraben* canal on the western side of the palace.¹²³ For Wilhelm, the accretion of buildings at the site presented traffic difficulties and prevented a clear view of the Eosander wing of the Palace from the direction of *Unter den Linden*. After over twenty years of investigations and proposals for the area, the *Bundesrat* announced a competition in 1888 for a monument to Wilhelm I that included *Schloss Freiheit* as one of six possible sites scattered across the city.¹²⁴ As Douglas Klahr has shown, a private committee with close ties to Wilhelm II, called the "*Komitee für die Niederlegung der Schlossfreiheit*", had been set up at the same time to agitate for the *Schlossfreiheit* option.¹²⁵ Disappointed with the initial round of entries, Wilhelm insisted that a second competition should be held for the memorial. This time, the competition was limited to a hand picked group of six sculptors. By involving himself directly in what was originally a parliamentary effort, Wilhelm not only prevailed in assuring that the monument would be built on the *Schlossfreiheit* site, framed visually by the monumental

¹²³ By the 1880's, these included some of the city's most upscale stores and a popular restaurant. For an overview of the contentious development of the *Schloßfreiheit* site at the end of the nineteenth century, see Max Pfeffer, *Schlossfreiheit zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1892); Dietmar Arnold and Ingmar Arnold, *Schlossfreiheit: Vor den Toren des Stadtschlusses* (Berlin: bre.bra, 1998); Douglas Klahr, *The Kaiser Builds in Berlin: Expressing National and Dynastic Identity in the Early Building Projects of Wilhelm II*.

¹²⁴ In 1872, for example, the architect Hermann Ziller called for the creation of a new street requiring the demolition of Schinkel's *Bauakademie* building directly across the canal.

¹²⁵ Klahr, *The Kaiser Builds in Berlin: Expressing National and Dynastic Identity in the Early Building Projects of Wilhelm II*.

backdrop of the Palace, but also succeeded in ensuring that the winner of the competition was the sculptor Reinhold Begas.

Begas played a fundamental role in giving official artistic expression to Wilhelm's programmatic deployment of the Baroque as a *Machtstil*.¹²⁶ At the end of the nineteenth century, he created a series of important sculptures that borrowed directly from the formal vocabulary of Michelangelo, Bernini, and Schlüter. The art historian Peter Bloch has described Begas' winning competition entry in 1871 for a monument to Friedrich Schiller on the *Gendarmenmarkt* as wrapping "the rational citizen of German idealism in more efficacious draperies" and announcing "the first public victory of the Neo-Baroque."¹²⁷ Works such as his 1885 figure of "Borussia" for the remodeled Zeughaus and his 1897-1900 Bismarck Monument designed for a site in front of the Reichstag Building ushered in a Neo-Baroque strain in sculpture directed against the lingering popularity of Christian Daniel Rauch and the classically-minded artists of the Berlin School.¹²⁸

Begun in 1894, Begas' design for the monument to Wilhelm I was centered on an oversized, 30-foot high equestrian sculpture of the King. The statue was surrounded by a complex array of secondary sculptures and a richly articulated architectural frame planned by the architect and painter Gustav Halmhuber.¹²⁹ The monument rose sixty-five

¹²⁶ For an overview of Begas' work, see Alfred Gotthold Meyer, *Reinhold Begas* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1897).

¹²⁷ Peter Bloch, "Die Berliner Bildhauerei des 19. Jahrhunderts und die Antike," in *Berlin und die Antike* (Berlin, 1979, 2), 401-402.

¹²⁸ In a memorable statement, Bloch suggested that "Begas made art 'rauchfrei.'" Ibid., 402.

¹²⁹ At the time of the competition for the project, Halmhuber had just finished work in the office of Paul Wallot on the decorative program of the Reichstag Building.

feet above the street, requiring the construction of a massive platform into the canal. In its position directly in front of the main portal to the Eosander wing of the Palace, Begas and Halmhuber's monument continued a tradition of similar works. These include Schlüter's famous design for an equestrian statue to Friedrich Wilhelm, whose location at the center of the *Lange Brücke* corresponded to Portal I of the Schloss.¹³⁰

For many commentators, Wilhelm's elaborate evocations of Schlüter offered a conclusive example of the propagandistic capacity of the Neo-Baroque. As the critic Karl Scheffler noted, "The unified empire wanted to show its splendor to the outside, and any other consideration conflicted with this need for representation."¹³¹ Taken as a whole, this architecture became, for Scheffler, "a national advertisement for the ideas of the discipline of the state and the exercising of power."¹³² Scheffler's evocation of *Reklame* in his description of Wilhelm II's architectural program could also be applied to his planning of the so-called "*Siegesallee*" ("Victory Avenue").¹³³ The monument was planned as a 750-meter avenue through the Tiergarten. It was lined with almost one hundred white marble statues depicting Prussian royal figures. Executed by Halmhuber, Begas, and a team of twenty-seven of his students, the *Siegesallee* was inaugurated by Wilhelm in 1901 on the same day as the official opening of the Pergamon Museum. As

¹³⁰ At the same time that the monument to Wilhelm I resonated with the larger Baroque topography of the Palace, it also screened views of the *Bauakademie* building across the canal, thereby creating an obstructive Neo-Baroque counter-weight to Schinkel's own planning of the area.

¹³¹ Karl Scheffler, "Akademische Baukunst: Monumentalaufgaben und Stilrenommisten," in *Der Architekt und andere Essays über Baukunst, Kultur, und Stil* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1993), 33-54.

¹³² Ibid., 35. For a recent discussion of political staging in Wilhelmine Prussia, see Eva Giloi, "Royally Intertwined: Visual Culture and the Experience of Monarchy in Wilhelmine Prussia," *Intellectual History Review*, 17, no. 2 (2007): 203-224.

¹³³ In her study of the monument, Uta Lehnert has described the *Siegesallee* as "réclame royale." See Uta Lehnert, *Der Kaiser und die Siegesallee: Réclame Royale* (Berlin: Reimer, 1998).

strollers made their way down the length of the allée, they were presented with what Wilhelm described as a teleological “history in images” meant to provide a narrative of Germany’s path towards Prussian-led unification. Dubbed the “Puppenallee” and “Plaster Avenue” by the public, the monument conveyed the same strategy of *Staatsreklame* that Wilhelm II instigated in his recreation of the Baroque in the area around the Palace.

In this respect, the programmatic character of the *Siegesallee* was perhaps most tellingly revealed in an advertisement for Odol mouthwash from an issue of the popular magazine *Jugend*. **[Fig. 1.16]** In the advertisement, two rows of the company’s trademark *Mundwasser* bottles take the place of the statues of Prussian leaders that lined the path of the monument. The montage was created from a standard postcard view of the site and depicts a group of fashionable Berliners in the midst of their afternoon promenades. A couple in the foreground of the image observes the monumental mouthwashes, whose significance is narrated to them by an official in uniform. Somewhat anthropomorphic in their nozzle-out orientation and perched one after the other on top of their plinths, these new mass-produced *Markgrafen*, *Kurfürsten*, and *Könige* turned Wilhelm II’s “history in images” into a homogenized display of commodities. This slippage between Wilhelm’s architectural program and the aims of modern advertising constituted a driving factor in the development of the Neo-Baroque at the end of the nineteenth century. As we shall see in the next chapter, the artistic strategies of advertizing and those of the Neo-Baroque were in many ways one and the same.

Chapter 2

Größstadt as Barockstadt: Art History, Advertising and the Surface of the Neo-Baroque

Here capitalism and landlordism ‘their children have gathered, their city have built,’ and built it, apparently, with Rococo, Baroque, and Co. for their architects and decorators.

Grant Allen¹

In the middle of her 1911 novel *W.A.G.M.U.S.*, one of the earliest German-language works of fiction to take place within a modern department store, the author Margarete Böhme described a scene in the store’s recently established furniture department.² [Fig. 2.1] The character Karen Nickelson, an assistant in the department, discusses a pair of old wooden carved chests that had just arrived at the store. She explains to her manager that the pieces had to belong to the “German Renaissance”, while the store’s owner insisted that they belonged to the “Danzig Baroque.” “The line is too simple and fine,” she notes, “for *Baroque*; see, this is a purely architectonic movement, not in the least allied to *Baroque* or Rococo; I am sure it is rustic work of 1650 or even earlier.”³ Karen’s astute visual argument stemmed directly from the

¹ Grant Allen, *Longman’s Magazine* 15 (1890), 505.

² Margarete Böhme, *W.A.G.M.U.S.* (F. Fontane & Co., 1911). The novel was translated into English as *The Department Store. A Novel of To-Day* (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1912). For more on Böhme and The Department Store, see Arno Bammé, *Margarete Böhme: Die Erfolgsschriftstellerin aus Husum* (Profil, 1994); Matthew Lange, “Berlin’s ‘Cathedrals of Commercialism’: Cultural Confrontations with the Warenhaus Phenomenon,” in *Topography and Literature: Berlin and Modernism*, ed. Reinhard Zachau (Göttingen: V&R, 2009).

³ Margarete Böhme, *The Department Store. A Novel of To-Day*, 300.

pioneering art historical analyses of the Baroque by figures such as Cornelius Gurlitt and Heinrich Wölfflin.⁴ Translated from the realm of aesthetic taste and quite contemplation to the idiom of shopping, the scene unfolds within a setting that might seem far removed from the hushed environment of the art history lecture hall. Like the art galleries and grand carpet halls that increasingly filled Berlin department stores, Böhme's description of the furniture department might be taken as a symbol for the uncanny conflation during this period of aesthetic cultivation with the fleeting and fickle gaze of the consumer. The finely tuned mechanisms of art historical analysis had become a vehicle for consumption.

Scholars such as Frederic Schwartz have cast an important light on this connection between art history and the forces of capitalist modernity in Germany.⁵ What interests us here is the previously unstudied role of the Baroque in this process. I argue that the specific mode of attentiveness outlined by art historians in their attempt to account for the formal effects of the Baroque provided a flashpoint for important architectural debates concerning the experience of the modern metropolitan subject. As we shall see, the carefully staged control of perception explored within Baroque research in the 1880's and 1890's was closely related to the contemporaneous rise of another key area of research – modern advertising. As art historians described Baroque facades with the language of the newspaper ad and as commentators related the appearance of the advertisement to the persuasive effects of the Baroque, architects themselves utilized both in their creation of a metropolitan

⁴ It is illuminating to note, in this regard, that Gurlitt's niece reportedly told Gurlitt that when he became a doctor, "Uncle Cornelius was not a medical doctor but a doctor of Rococo *Schraenken*." This story was reported in correspondence with Evonne Levy.

⁵ See Frederic Schwartz, "Cathedrals and Shoes: Concepts of Style in Wölfflin and Adorno," *New German Critique* 76 (Winter 1999); Frederic Schwartz, *Blind Spots: Critical Theory and the History of Art in Twentieth-Century Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

Neo-Baroque dedicated to the attention-drawing play of surface effects. In its attempt to shed light on the intersection between the “*Reklamewesen*” of the Baroque and the development of the Neo-Baroque in Berlin, this chapter revolves around two case studies. This first is Gustav Ebe’s design for a palatial residence for the advertising agent and publisher Rudolf Mosse, and the second is the architect Bernhard Sehring’s design for the main headquarters of the Tietz department store. Ultimately, I show how the interplay of research into the Baroque and Neo-Baroque architecture contributed to fulfilling what the art historian Kurt Milde has called the “representational demands of the bourgeoisie.”⁶

Building for a *Zeitungskönig*: Gustav Ebe and the *Mosse Palais*

In addition to its important role in debates about nationalism and political continuity in the so-called “*offizielle Architektur*” of Berlin, the Baroque emerged as a central agent at the end of the nineteenth century in representing the upward aspirations of the city’s urban elite. This was readily apparent in the architecture section of the 1886 *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*. Alongside a historical overview of architectural development in Berlin since the founding of the *Akademie*, a number of Neo-Baroque buildings were featured that were hailed by the press as representing a distinct transformation in the city’s urban fabric. At the same time that popular newspapers caricatured speculative rental palaces literally melting with capitals, volutes, and other forms of *Schmuck*, the exhibition signaled the introduction of the Baroque into the streetscape of the capitalist metropolis. [Fig. 2.2] The very definition

⁶ Kurt Milde, *Neorenaissance in der deutschen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts: Grundlagen, Wesen, und Gültigkeit* (Dresden: VEB, 1981), 321.

of a “late-style” had become the symbol not only of Prussian political power, but also of Berlin’s birth as a modern *Großstadt*.

The architects Cremer & Wolffenstein’s competition-winning development for the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse* is a characteristic example.⁷ [Figs. 2.3, 2.4] The project was located just across the river Spree from the Royal Palace. The development was made up of two buildings situated directly across the street from each other.⁸ In typical fashion, each featured apartments situated above retail storefronts. Resulting from its rich sculptural decoration and the contrasts between projecting volumes and receding surfaces on its façade, critics often emphasized what they vaguely called the Schlüter-inspired elements of Cremer & Wolffenstein’s design. In an essay for the magazine *Berliner Architekturwelt*, Max Wagenführ noted that the project illustrated an important trend in which “architecture culture in Berlin thought that it could best develop further in the sense of Schlüter.”⁹ In a review for the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, the critic K. E. O. Fritsch described the artistic language of the project as a mixture of “motifs from the Italian Baroque style as interpreted by Schlüter and the Baroque forms of the German Renaissance.”¹⁰ Similarly, in the first pages of his *Architektur*

⁷ Wilhelm Cremer (1845-1912) was born in Köln am Rhein. After studying there under Julian Raschdorff, he came to Berlin in 1875 to study at the *Bauakademie*. In addition to teaching at the *Kunstschule* and *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, Cremer co-founded the firm Cremer & Wolffenstein in 1882. Wolffenstein (1846-1919) also attended the *Bauakademie*. Cremer & Wolffenstein’s first success was a second prize in the competition for the Reichstag Building. Starting with their 1885 entry for the *Kaiser-Wilhelm Strasse* development, the firm played a central role in the introduction of the Neo-Baroque to the shopping quarters and expanding residential districts of Berlin.

⁸ The drawings are housed at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* (Inv. Nrs. 468-505). These buildings were destroyed during the bombing campaigns of World War II. For more information on the competition and the parameters of the development, see *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse zu Berlin*. (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1885).

⁹ Max Wagenführ, “Cremer und Wolffenstein,” *Berliner Architekturwelt* 3 (1919): 83.

¹⁰ “Die Konkurrenz für Entwürfe zur Bebauung der Kaiser-Wilhelm Strasse in Berlin,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 73, no. 13 (February 14, 1886): 73-77. In the same issue of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, a reviewer described Cremer & Wolffenstein’s contemporaneous design for the *Waaren-Börse* in Berlin as “*Schlüter’schen Barock*.” “Berliner Neubauten. Das Gebäude der Waaren Börse in der St. Wolfgang-Strasse,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 73, no. 13 (September 11, 1886), 437.

der Gegenwart, Adolf Rosenberg observed that the design was composed “in the grand forms of the Schlüteresque Baroque style, with consideration of the nearby Royal Palace.”¹¹

The project functioned on an urban level as a scenographic frame for the new monumental axis of *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse*, a northern extension of *Unter den Linden* that ran between the *Dom* and the *Lustgarten* façade of the Palace and then towards the train station at *Alexanderplatz*. Unified behind a continuous Neo-Baroque façade, the project provided a stylistically cohesive backdrop for views of the Palace from the south. It also exemplified the easy adaptability of the Baroque to the speculative apartment buildings and *Geschäftshäuser* that were quickly emerging along the length of the new commercial spine. As is evident in the awkwardly resolved relationship between the building’s exterior skin and its interior arrangement, Cremer & Wolffenstein sacrificed a direct correspondence between inside and outside in order to allow the façade to operate autonomously as a representational Neo-Baroque scrim.¹²

The arrival of the Baroque in the modern metropolis is also evident in the architects Gustav Ebe and Julius Benda’s 1884 design for an urban palace for the powerful newspaper and advertising entrepreneur Rudolf Mosse.¹³ [Fig. 2.5]

¹¹ Adolf Rosenberg, *Architektur der Gegenwart. Übersicht der hervorragenden Bauausführungen der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1892), 3.

¹² Some of the apartment rooms are provided with only the most indirect natural lighting. In his book on the Neo-Renaissance, Milde emphasized the insufficiently considered relationship between interior and exterior in the building. He relates this trait to the “*folienhaft*” nature of the project. In a way that relates to many buildings in Berlin from this era, Milde argued, “*Um einen Innenhof, den hier noch relativ groß ausgefallen ist, sind Geschäfts- und Gewerberäume sowie Wohnungen ab dem zweiten Geschöß angeordnet. Diese sind mit dem berüchtigten Eckzimmer versehen, das nur durch ein ganz seitlich liegendes Fenster beleuchtet wird und außerdem noch Durchgangsraum ist.*” Milde, *Neorenaissance in der deutschen Architektur des 19. Jahrhunderts: Grundlagen, Wesen, und Gültigkeit*, 319.

¹³ Ebe and Benda met while studying at the *Bauakademie* in Berlin. They took a study trip together through France and Italy before founding their office. After competition designs for the *Rathaus* in

Drawings of this project and a model of its façade were exhibited prominently at the *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung*. Mosse represented the remarkable ascendancy of a wealthy and influential *Großbürgertum* in Berlin after the formation of the German Empire.¹⁴ His name was often mentioned alongside other urban elites, including industrialists like Siemens, Borsig, and Rathenau, real estate developers like Haberland, department store owners like Wertheim and Tietz, and other newspaper founders like Scherl and Ullstein. In 1867, following a series of apprenticeships and jobs in bookstores and publishing offices, Mosse became convinced that Berlin was on the verge of transforming itself into an industrial and economic powerhouse – the “*Metropole Deutschlands*” as he would call it. He decided to open his own newspaper advertising business in a building located at *Friedrichstrasse* 60, in the commercial heart of the Prussian capital. Starting in 1874, the multiple divisions of Mosse’s business were centralized into a building on *Jerusalemstrasse*, which had become the center point of Berlin’s publishing industry.¹⁵ By the time that Mosse

Vienna, the *Berliner Dom*, *Rathaus* in Hamburg, and Reichstag Building, their office became well-known for its monumental private palaces for Berlin’s industrialists.

¹⁴ Born in 1843 in the Prussian town of Grätz, Mosse’s first experience in the world of printing was an apprenticeship at the age of fifteen with a bookstore in Posen. After a short time in Berlin, Mosse moved to Leipzig in 1864 in order to take up employment in the publishing office of Robert Aptisch, who was responsible for the popular illustrated magazine *Gartenlaube*. It was during his time working under Aptisch that Mosse began soliciting advertisements for the publication. He eventually created a separate advertising section for *Gartenlaube* that proved enormously successful. The literature on Mosse and his family is large. For a detailed general account of the history of the Mosse business, see Elisabeth Kraus, *Die Familie Mosse: deutsch-jüdisches Bürgertum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (München: C. H. Beck, 1999); George Lachmann Mosse, *Confronting History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000). The Mosse family papers, including a group of documents related to Rudolf Mosse, are kept at the Center for Jewish History at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York.

¹⁵ From 1901-03, Cremer & Wolffenstein remodeled the headquarters with a highly sculptural late-Renaissance design. It was for this building, in turn, that Erich Mendelsohn (with the help of Richard Neutra and the sculptor Paul Henning) created an addition and renovation from 1922-23. Mendelsohn’s architectural confrontation with Cremer & Wolffenstein’s building presents a good case study for architectural modernism’s consideration of late-historicist practice. Mendelsohn regarded his own conception of the renovation, based on the movement of street traffic and city life, as a kind of Bach-like Baroque fugue. During these years, Mendelsohn produced a series of sketches for almost Rococo pleasure pavilions and for structures inspired by Bach’s Toccatas. For more on Mendelsohn’s work on the *Mossehaus*, see Kathleen James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*

commissioned Ebe & Bende to design his own residence, he was one of Berlin's wealthiest men and an important philanthropist.¹⁶

Although Mosse's office was not the first in Germany to capitalize on the idea of the newspaper advertisement, it quickly surpassed its competitors to become the largest and most profitable concern of its kind.¹⁷ Starting in 1850, when laws confining advertising to ads-only publications called "*Intelligenzblätter*" were abolished in Prussia, the number of German newspapers with extensive advertising sections increased dramatically. This was especially the case in the years following the foundation of the German Empire. The removal of limits on newspaper distribution, the fall in the price of paper, the improvement of printing and distribution techniques (including the introduction of the rotation press in 1872 and the appearance of typesetting machines in 1884), and the rise of literacy rates in

(Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn, Opera Completa: Architetture e Immagini Architettoniche* (Torino: Testo & Immagine, 1997), 86-89. In addition, see Stahl, "Mosse-Haus," in *Probleme der neuen Stadt Berlin* (Berlin-Friedenau: Deutscher Kommunal, 1926), 198.

¹⁶ In addition to donating money to several scientific and cultural institutions, Mosse and his wife Emilie founded the *Mossesche Erziehungsanstalt für Knaben und Mädchen* in 1895. Housed in a monumental Neo-Baroque building also designed by Ebe & Benda, the institution was devoted to the education of the children of impoverished parents of the educated middle classes in Berlin. The organization exemplifies Mosse's concern for the cultivation of the *Bildungsbürgertum* in Berlin. According to George Lachmann Mosse, Mosse's grandson, "its purpose echoed these principles: the children were to be educated to be both modest and industrious. But also, in accordance with their status as children of middle-class parents, they were to be introduced to cultural life: they were taken to museums, theaters, and concerts, as well as the Berlin zoo." George Lachmann Mosse, *Confronting History*, 23.

¹⁷ Ferdinand Haasenstein opened his "*Insertions-Agentur*" in Altona in 1855 and Gottfried Leonard Daubes founded his office in Frankfurt in 1864. Soon after establishing his first office in Berlin, Mosse opened branches in Munich (1868), Hamburg (1869), Vienna (1870), Frankfurt am Main (1870), Nürnberg (1871), Zurich (1871), Breslau (1871), Stuttgart (1871), Leipzig (1872), Köln (1872), Dresden (1874), Magdeburg (1885), and Mannheim (1889). By 1917, the *Zeitungs-Annoncen-Expedition Rudolf Mosse* numbered 18 independent branches and encompassed a wide network of some 280 agencies in Germany and abroad.

metropolitan areas all contributed to the rapid proliferation of newspapers aimed at increasingly specialized segments of the public.¹⁸

In facilitating the economical placement and effective targeting of ads in Germany and abroad, Mosse envisioned his role as a “*Lückenfüller*,” filling the communicative gap between the seller and the newspaper publisher.¹⁹ As opposed to earlier stages of capitalist development when the producer, product, and consumer were unified in the process of transaction, the modern advertisement stood in as a proxy for the product. It utilized words and images to conjure an often distant object before the customer’s eyes and engrain it into his memory. Mosse increased the efficiency of this process through the steady acquisition of the full rights to the advertising sections of a wide range of publications. These included popular illustrated magazines such as *Kladderdatsch*, *Fliegende Blätter*, and the *Deutsche Illustrierte Zeitung*, as well as artistic publications such as the official catalogue for the 1886 *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* itself. The latter included a 48-page advertising section developed by the Mosse office.²⁰ Ultimately, Mosse’s desire for the monopolization of newspaper advertising space led him to establish the *Berliner Tageblatt*. The paper quickly became one of the main voices of the liberal Berlin

¹⁸ For more information on the proliferation of the newspaper in German cities, see K. Koszyk, *Deutsche Presse im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1966); Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1996); Volker R. Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871-1914: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics* (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1994), 185-189.

¹⁹ For a detailed account of this process, see Elizabeth Kraus, “Rudolf Mosse: Vom Werbekönig zum Pressezaren,” in *Geschäft mit Wort und Meinung: Medienunternehmer seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günther Schulz (Harald Boldt Verlag, 1999). See also Gerd F. Heuer, *Entwicklung der Annoncen-Expeditionen in Deutschland* (Frankfurt a.M., 1937), 20.

²⁰ See *Illustrierte Katalog, Jubiläums-Ausstellung der Kgl. Akademie der Künste im Landes-Ausstellungsgebäude zu Berlin von Mai bis October 1886* (Berlin: Berliner Verlags-Comtoir, 1886). A complete list of these publications can be found in *Fest-Schrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Annoncen-Expedition Rudolf Mosse* (Berlin, January 1, 1917.)

Bürgertum at the end of the nineteenth century.²¹ In its most essential form, Mosse envisioned the paper as a scaffold for ads.

The *Mosse Palais* was conceived as a renovation and expansion of a previous apartment building. It occupied a prominent and unusually large piece of property bordered by *Leipziger Platz* to the south and *Voss-Strasse* to the north.²² Situated, in this way, between the central node of one of Berlin's most fashionable commercial districts on one side and a row of palatial homes built for the city's wealthiest residents on the other, the building's site embodied Mosse's intimate connection to the new metropolitan cityscape that he both shaped and was shaped by. According to Hitchcock, one of the only English-language architectural historians to mention the project, the building represented Ebe and Benda's desertion of "the German Renaissance for a German Baroque."²³ The building's general spatial layout consciously recalled the flowering of the *Palais* type in Berlin during the time of Friedrich I.²⁴

²¹ In the following years, Mosse created several other papers which were directed at specific segments of the city's ever-widening newspaper reading public, including the *Deutsches Montagsblatt* (1877-88), *Deutsches Reichsblatt* (1881-94), *Berliner Morgenzeitung* (starting 1889), and the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (1890-1922).

²² The building was severely damaged during World War II and was eventually completely razed. As Leipziger Platz was redeveloped after the fall of the Berlin Wall, an office building called the "*Mosse Palais*" was constructed on the site from 1995-97. For a short general account of the building, see Thea Koberstein, "Das Mosse-Palais: eine feine Adresse," *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 6 (1999).

²³ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), 224.

²⁴ The design included a *cour d'honneur* based on the model of the "*Hôtel particulier*" outlined in Charles Augustin d'Aviler's 1691 *Cours d'architecture* (translated into German by the Berlin architect and theoretician Leonhard Christoph Sturm in 1699). The popularity of the *Hôtel* model amongst the Berlin *Großbürgertum* after 1871 can be seen in designs such as the French architect Hippolyte Destailleur's 1871-77 palace on the *Wilhelmsplatz* for Fürst Pless, Schmieden, von Weltzien & Speer's 1882-84 house for Ernst von Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and Kayser & von Großheim's 1889-90 house for the banker James Saloschin, which incorporated the fragmentary remains of an eighteenth century French palace into its sumptuous interior. For a full list of these buildings, comprised in response to their disappearance during the 1920's as a result of ongoing attempts to "modernize" and "clean" Berlin's late-historicist facades, see Julius Kohte, "Wohnhäuser von kunstgeschichtlichem Werte in Berlin und Vororten," *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 73, no. 3 (1923): 66-72. For a discussion of late-

Ebe and Benda located the building's most important formal rooms in a block behind the *Leipziger Platz* façade. [Fig. 2.6] Completed in the first phase of construction, from 1883-84, this part of the project was described by commentators as drawing on Schlüter's language for the facade of the Palace. This was due in part to features such as the building's rows of windows, the contrast between its central portal and the comparatively smooth surface of its remaining surface, and the highly sculptural character of its decorative elements.²⁵ The second phase, built from 1886-88, included two side-wings that extended towards *Voss-Strasse* and terminated in a pair of gabled pavilions. One wing housed a winter garden and the other contained a library and painting galleries. A richly decorated iron gate and a portal topped by Michelangelesque sculptures of recumbent figures by the artist Ernst Herter closed the complex off from *Voss-Strasse*. A cupola situated on top of the main body of the building rose up from an ensemble of obelisks and oversized volutes.

The *Mosse Palais* provided Ebe with an opportunity to combine his work as architect and architectural historian. Planning and construction unfolded at the same time he was researching and writing his book *Die Spät-Renaissance*.²⁶ Published in 1886, this monumental two-volume study spans the long time period from Michelangelo to the emergence of David and Neo-classicism. Its merit as an art historical source was soon questioned, and in time almost entirely forgotten, with the

seventeenth century palace architecture in Berlin, see Melanie Mertens, *Berliner Barockpaläste: Die Entstehung eines Bautyps in der Zeit der ersten preußischen Könige* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2003).

²⁵ The second phase, built from 1886-88, included two side-wings that extended towards *Voss-Strasse* and terminated in a pair of gabled pavilions. One wing housed a winter garden and the other contained a library and painting galleries. A richly decorated iron gate and a portal topped by recumbent figures by the artist Ernst Herter closed the complex off from *Voss-Strasse*. A cupola situated on top of the main body of the building rose up from an ensemble of obelisks and oversized volutes, creating a monumental triangular composition.

²⁶ Gustav Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance: Kunstgeschichte der europäischen Länder von der Mitte des 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Julius Spring, 1886).

publication a year later of Cornelius Gurlitt's more thoroughly researched *Geschichte des Barockstiles*.²⁷ Nevertheless, Ebe's book constituted one of the first attempts at a comprehensive history of art, architecture, and the decorative arts during the Baroque era.²⁸

According to Ebe, prevailing portrayals of the Baroque tended to treat the entire period as a kind of "forbidden paradise" that had to be guarded like "an angel with the flaming sword."²⁹ In contrast, *Die Spät-Renaissance* sought to provide a theoretical and historical support for the renewed relevance of the Baroque in contemporary architectural design.³⁰ Ebe made clear that his own activity as an architect was the direct source of his "predilection for the study of the late-Renaissance."³¹ Ebe's belief in the contemporaneity of the Baroque can be seen in a

²⁷ In a letter to his brother Wilhelm written soon after the publication of Ebe's book, Gurlitt described *Die Spät-Renaissance* as "the best foil for me, in that it shows everything that Ebe *didn't* see and read." Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, 4 November 1886, *Gurlitt Nachlass, Technische Universität Dresden*. Ebe's own recounting and response to Gurlitt's history of the Baroque was published as Gustav Ebe, "Die Entwicklung des Barockstiles in Deutschland," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 21 (March 14, 1888): 123-125 and 28 (March 14, 1888): 167-168.

²⁸ In addition to *Die Spät-Renaissance*, Ebe's writings on the Baroque appeared throughout the 1880's and 1890's in major architectural journals. For more of Ebe's writing on the Baroque, see his essay for an 1888 issue of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* entitled "Die Entwicklung des Barockstiles in Deutschland," which took the form of a review of a lecture by Cornelius Gurlitt on the Baroque delivered at the *Vereinigung Berliner Architekten*. Gustav Ebe, "Die Entwicklung des Barockstiles in Deutschland."

²⁹ Gustav Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*.

³⁰ In the introduction to the book, Ebe foregrounds the programmatic nature of his historical project: "Everything that has developed in architecture since [the late-Renaissance and Baroque periods]," he boldly claimed, "is based consciously or unconsciously on the spatial combinations, as well as the constructions developed for them, devised in these disdained centuries." Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*, 1-2. Similarly, "Aside from Oriental influences brought from the World Expositions, the most recent revival of the decorative arts is based essentially on the study of late-Renaissance creations. And one would be completely correct in saying that one couldn't find a better model." *Ibid.*, 12. These sentiments also relate to reviews of the Mosse Palais itself: "Wer freilich nur durch die orthodoxe klassische Brille zu sehen imstande ist, mag in den mit Giebel-Ecken bekrönten Pfeiler- und Säulen-Bildungen, die in der gewählten Architektur eine besonders bezeichnende Rolle spielen, vielleicht den Gipfelpunkt baukünstlerischer Willkür erblicken." K. E. O. Fritsch, "Berliner Neubauten. Wohnhaus für Herrn Rudolf Mosse, Leipziger Platz 15 und Voss-Strasse 22," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 2 (January 5, 1889) and 6 (January 19, 1889): 30.

³¹ Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*, iv. In a way that might be compared to the operative nature of Sigfried Giedion's writing on the late-Baroque a generation later, he continued, "Certainly everyone, whether an art scholar or artist, who would like to attain knowledge of historical monuments, stands in the

1902 essay for the *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*. He reflected, “A renewed drive towards the protection of national accomplishments, which undoubtedly emanated from the political reconstruction of the German Empire, resulted finally in an expanded view of hitherto overlooked periods.”³² He continued, “Of these periods, the German Renaissance and the German Baroque were necessarily the first to be rediscovered. They could be easily revitalized and made useful for contemporary projects.”³³

In addition to his focus on the Baroque’s connection to political unification, Ebe’s engagement with the style provided a theoretical framework for an architectural language resonant with the representational demands of the capitalist metropolis. His particular formulation of the Baroque was ultimately directed at the new building tasks that accompanied the rise of an influential urban *Bürgertum*. These included private palaces, rental apartments, banks, theaters, and department stores. In a 1901 essay entitled “The Value of Historical Heritage for the Contemporary Architectural Creations,” Ebe celebrated the “*malerisch*” quality of German Baroque palace facades as an opportunity for the design of new apartment buildings and public spaces.³⁴ His design for the *Mosse Palais* was, in this way, an important test case to prove this theory.

middle of the art of the present. How can one hope to recognize the past if one does not understand the present?” Ibid., iv.

³² Gustav Ebe, “Das Verhältnis der Kunstgeschichte zur Architektur des XVII. Und XIX. Jahrhunderts,” *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* 10, no. 22 (1902): 168.

³³ Ibid., 168.

³⁴ “Ebenso würdigte man in den deutschen Barockpalästen und den grossartigen Repräsentations-Bauten der süddeutschen Klöster derselben Zeit den erreichten, niemals übertroffenen Grad der Ausbildung, der in der Anlage des Inneren wohl die italienischen Palastbauten übertrifft, und im Aeusseren der Neigung, zum Malerischen, die seit alters her einen deutschen Grundzug ausmacht, glücklich entgegenkommt... Neuere palastartige Wohnhäuser und öffentliche Gebäude sind denn auch vielfach mit Erfolg diesen Spruen nachgeschritten.” Gustav Ebe, “Das Werth des historischen Erbes für das architektonische Schafen der Jetztzeit,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 35, no.41 (1901): 275-278.

Ebe's art historical conception of the Baroque found expression at the *Mosse Palais* in two ways. At one level, his articulation of the German Baroque attempted to reconcile the prevailing aristocratic and courtly connotations of the style with the recent emergence of a powerful and wealthy urban elite. In *Die Spät-Renaissance*, he divided architecture in German speaking lands from the late-sixteenth century until the late-eighteenth century into two phases separated from each other by the end of the Thirty Years War and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In the first phase, the so-called "*nordische Barockstil*," architectural motifs from Italy and the Netherlands make their way into Germany beginning around 1580 and are mixed with a prevailing Gothic tradition. Rather than serving as the basis for direct imitation, these foreign influences were readily incorporated into original architectural compositions that resonated with a deeply engrained "Germanic" artistic spirit.³⁵ For Ebe, the "heightened painterly effect," "bold shadow effects," and "moving forms" of the Italian Baroque style were already present in the German Renaissance.³⁶ This articulation of a German predisposition to Baroque form-making foreshadowed Richard Hamann's later theory of a "*volkstümlicher Vorbarock*."³⁷ It also resonates

³⁵ From Wölfflin and Riegl at the end of the nineteenth century to Martin Wackernagel and Georg Dehio in the 1920's, this theme would be repeated again and again in accounts of the development of the Baroque in Germany. See, for example, Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (Wien: Anton Schroll, 1908); Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (München: Theodor Ackermann, 1888); Martin Wackernagel, *Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1919); Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (de Gruyter, 1923). The close connection between the Gothic and the Baroque in Germany was a frequent topic in German art historical literature. In addition to its prevalence in late-nineteenth century discussions of the Baroque, the phenomenon of a "*Barock-Gotik*" played an important role within debates about Expressionism. This was especially prevalent in Wilhelm Worringer's influential 1911 book *Formprobleme der Gotik*. For a discussion of the interrelation between the Gothic and Baroque during the nineteenth century, see Karl Scheffler, *Verwandlungen des Barocks in der Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Gallus-Verlag, 1947).

³⁶ Ebe also traced this kind of German "*Eigenart*" to the Romanesque. See Gustav Ebe, *Deutsche Eigenart in der bildenden Kunst* (J. J. Weber, 1896).

³⁷ Richard Hamann, *Geschichte der Kunst: von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: T. Knaur Nachf., 1935).

with George Dehio's argument in 1908 that the Baroque, as a mixture of the late-Gothic and Renaissance, was none other than the "*deutsche Ur- und Grundstimmung*."³⁸ According to Ebe, "The German masters assimilated the Baroque motives by virtue of their faculty for fantasy. Out of this arose the distinctly national form of a German-Northern Baroque whose composition distinguished itself through an adherence to the vertical principle of the Gothic, through the continued use of steep gables and roofs, and, with regard to the arrangement of the plan, through bays and other German peculiarities."³⁹ Also evident in the frequent use of exuberant decorative devices like cartouches and naturalistic flower garlands, this phase of the German Baroque maintained "the spirit of the Gothic, but with the appropriation of Baroque elements."⁴⁰

³⁸ In his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, Dehio argued that the early phase of Baroque development was different in each country. It was not until the "*Hochbarock*," that the style became properly international in nature. For Dehio, the Baroque corresponded to Germanic form-making to such a great degree that the development of the entire style, which could be traced as far back as the fifteenth century, was by its very nature uniquely German. In a 1909 essay on the *Gemmingdenkmal* at the Mainz Cathedral, Dehio argues, "*Unter der Hülle absterbender, aus ihrem Organismus gelöster Formeln regt sich ein starkes neues Leben. Aber man erkennt völlig das Gesetz dasselben, wenn man es für wesensverwandt mit derjenigen Kunst ansieht, deren Achse zwischen Brunelleschi und Bramante liegt und die allein Renaissance heißen darf; es ist wesensverwandt mit dem Barock... Nach meiner Auffassung sind Renaissance und Barock sich nicht gefolgt, sie gehen von Anfang an nebeneinander her und scheiden die nach-mittelalterliche Kunstwelt so: Renaissance ist, im Bunde mit der nach ihr genannten Kultur, der Stil Italiens; Barock ist das spontane neuzeitliche Produkt derselben nordischen Völker, die im Mittelalter den romanischen und gotischen Stil geschaffen hatten. Gleichwie die sate Gotik Italiens latente Renaissance ist, so ist die späte Gotik der Germanen latentes Barock.*" Georg Dehio, "Der Meister der Gemmingendenkmals im Mainzner Dom," *Jahrbuch der preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 30 (1909).

³⁹ Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*, 385.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 385. Buildings like the *Friedrichsbau* of the *Heidelberger Schloss*, which Ebe described as "one of the most beautiful German Baroque buildings," and the University Church in Würzburg, which combines elements of the Roman Baroque with Gothic rosette windows, were the most illustrative examples of this stylistic mode. This theme would eventually become an important part of Ebe's multi-volume *Deutsche Cicerone*, which was meant as a German alternative to Jacob Burckhardt's famous guidebook to Italy. The second volume of the *Deutsche Cicerone* chronicles the development of German art and architecture in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as well as in the nineteenth century. In the preface to the first volume of the book, Ebe suggests, "*Wirklich ist es bei uns, jetzt mehr als früher, in grösseren Kreisen üblich geworden, eigentliche Kunstreisen nicht nur nach Italien, sondern auch in Deutschland zu unternehmen und mit grösserer Gründlichkeit, indem man sich nicht auf einen flüchtigen Besuch der Museen beschränkt, sondern auch den über Stadt und Land zerstreuten Denkmälern eine eingehende Betrachtung widmet.*" Gustav Ebe. *Der Deutsche Cicerone: Führer durch die Kunstschatze der Länder deutscher Zunge* (Leipzig: Otto Spamer, 1897), iii.

Seen in its full cultural context, the first phase of the German Baroque corresponded to a state of general affluence and well being within *bürgerlich* society. This resulted in numerous designs for city halls, guild halls, patrician houses, and *Schlösser*. By stretching the Baroque's chronological range backwards to incorporate the life of the German *Bürgertum* at the end of the sixteenth century, Ebe consciously tapped into a set of popular arguments for the appropriation of the German Renaissance in contemporary architecture and the applied arts. For example, the Berlin architect Hubert Stier's influential 1884 essay "*Die deutsche Renaissance als nationaler Stil und die Grenzen ihrer Anwendung*," emphasized the economic and social context of the middle classes in the sixteenth century, as well as architecture's close relation during this time to the national and individualistic qualities of German culture. As Mitchell Schwarzer has suggested, the fantasy of the German Renaissance that emerged in the years following unification was closely related to the search within architecture for a suitable expression for modern German identity. The northern Renaissance provided "a specifically German route to modernity."⁴¹

According to Ebe, as early as the 1620's, the medievalizing tendencies of the Northern Baroque style began to shift towards greater attention to classical forms. What began as a subtle and piecemeal phenomenon emerged in the years following the Peace of Westphalia as a decisive rejection of the Gothic. This second phase of the German Baroque takes its place in *Die Spät-Renaissance* as the "Classical Baroque Style" ("*der klassische Barockstil*"). In Ebe's narrative, the development of this phase grew from Germany's cultural, political, and economic impoverishment after the destruction of the Thirty Years War. Whereas the French, Italians, English,

⁴¹ Hubert Stier, "Die deutsche Renaissance als nationaler Stil und die Grenzen ihrer Anwendung," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 18 (1884). See Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 76-77.

and Spanish were in possession of a developed national literature and more easily formed coherent political entities, Germany's path towards nationhood was stifled by its almost complete physical decimation and the loss of the majority of its population.⁴² As a result, Germany began to look beyond its own borders in order to find kindling for future architectural development. Ebe suggested, "As the Germans again attained a calm Being after the thunderstorm of the Thirty Years War, it appears as if they had drunk out of the river Lethe: in all facets of spiritual life, they had entirely forgotten their own deep traditions." Instead, "They made an earnest effort to acquire a new culture from abroad, primarily, as was self-evident, from their much-admired French neighbors."⁴³

Despite their increased dependence on foreign models (and especially on French classicism), architects like Schlüter, Fischer von Erlach, and Pöppelmann were able to instill a specifically Germanic "*Eigenart*" in their works.⁴⁴ These are the heroes of Ebe's account of the Classical Baroque. This was especially evident in the case of Schlüter. According to Ebe, his work at the Zeughaus and Palace was successful in reconciling classical sources with northern fantasy. In a way that echoed other accounts of the Baroque in Berlin, Ebe contended:

The artistic environment which Schlüter encountered in Berlin was a rather sober Dutch version of a French classicizing Baroque style. That Schlüter had the

⁴² Ebe also discusses this in *Deutsche Cicerone*, 138.

⁴³ Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*, 621.

⁴⁴ Ebe suggests, "Dass sich trotz dieser Abhängigkeit dennoch eine eigenthümliche deutsche Kunstrichtung, mindestens in der Architektur, bilden konnte, ist das Verdienst einiger grosser künstlicher Individualitäten, der Schlüter, Pöppelmann und Fischer von Erlach. Diese Meistern fanden, bei Beginn ihres Wirkens, den französischen Einfluss bereits in voller Blüthe, und konnten es nur durch grosse künstlerische Kraft und originelle Begabung dahin bringen, etwas verhältnismässig selbständiges zu schaffen." Ibid., 621.

capacity to create something individual [*Eigenes*] in place of the prevailing imitation – that he was able to... give a new imprint [*Gepräge*] to the classical, leading back to the famous Italian masters, remains his incontestable artistic service. The *Schlüter'sche* Renaissance could therefore lay claim to the rank of a German-national direction.⁴⁵

This transformation of classical sources was what set Schlüter apart from the work of architects such as Johann Arnold Nering, his immediate predecessor in Berlin.

With its insertion of a story about the florescence of the German *Bürgertum* into the larger history of the Baroque, Ebe's account of the style in *Die Spätrenaissance* established a stylistic paradigm suitable for expressing the wealth and social standing of Berlin's capitalist elite. This was directly expressed at the *Mosse Palais*.⁴⁶ The richly sculpted central risalit on the building's *Leipzigerplatz* façade recalled the main elevations of early eighteenth century buildings in Berlin like Martin Böhme's 1720 *Palais Kreutz*, Schlüter's *Palais Wartenburg* and, most importantly, Schlüter's designs for the portals of the Palace itself. The sandstone ornamentation on this side of the building was crowned by a *Namenschild* motif. Instead of recalling Prussia's line of monarchs, the cartouche displayed Mosse's own initials. The entire building asserted his popularly acknowledged status as the "Ruler of Public Opinion" and the "*Zeitungskönig*," or "King of the Newspaper."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid., 626.

⁴⁶ This was similar to the way in which manor houses once inhabited by aristocratic or royal families were purchased by the new bourgeois elite in Berlin as country retreats. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Gerhard Masur, *Imperial Berlin* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971).

⁴⁷ According to Elisabeth Kraus, Mosse was also known as "*einem der Despoten der Literatur, einem der Beherrscher der öffentlichen Meinung*." Elisabeth Kraus, 157. Importantly, this system of self-representation continued to the interior of the building as well, where a sequence of rooms arranged *enfilade* was appointed with rich Baroque and Rococo decorations, including a series of seventeenth century *Gobelins* tapestries by Bernardino van Asselt that depicted the story of the life of Moses. As

The Surface of the Baroque: Art History and Advertising

At the same time that Ebe's conception of the Baroque established a rich palette of allusions for the expression of prestige and success, it also framed the style in the terms of advertising. At the end of the nineteenth century, advertising and the Baroque emerged as closely related and often overlapping subjects within German art historical and architectural discourse. In addition to a perceived historical correspondence, related to arguments that the modern capitalist economic system was linked to the development of mercantilist policies at the turn of the eighteenth century, advertising and the Baroque were seen to share a set of closely overlapping objectives and formal strategies.⁴⁸ This connection lies at the very heart of Baroque

scholars have pointed out, the tapestries not only point to the preference for the Baroque in Ebe & Benda's decorative scheme, but could also be read – in part through the very resemblance between the names “Moses” and “Mosse” – as a reference to Mosse's own Jewish heritage. Sven Kuhrau argued for the Jewish connections brought about by the tapestry in *Der Kunstsammler im Kaiserreich: Kunst und Repräsentation in der Berliner Privatsammlerkultur* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2005), 79. The tapestries formed one part of Mosse's large art collection, which also consisted of contemporary sculpture, works by the seventeenth century Netherlandish masters, a small group of Egyptian antiquities, and, installed in the picture galleries, a widely admired selection of contemporary paintings by artists like Böcklin, Feuerbach, Leibl, Liebermann, Menzel, and Thoma. Together with the library of the nineteenth century literary scholar Erich Schmidt, which Mosse had purchased and installed in the house, these works were often open to the public. Perhaps the most programmatic work in Mosse's art collection was Anton von Werner's monumental 1899 fresco entitled *Gastmahl der Familie Mosse*, which was installed in the building's formal dining room. The mosaic depicted the stages of human life as well as the progression of historical epochs from primitive man to the most recent past. Although the content and style of the painting were inspired by Italian works like Paolo Veronese's *Marriage at Cana* and *Feast in the House of Levi*, Werner depicted Mosse, his family, and his social circle – a group that in the painting includes the writer and liberal politician Albert Traeger, the judge and representative from the *Fortschrittspartei* Albert Handel, the physician Rudolf Virchow, and the philosopher Heinrich Rickert – dressed in seventeenth century Dutch costume. A typical Dutch villa from the same time period serves as the architectural background for the scene. In this way, guests to Mosse's frequent dinners and celebrations were transported into a republican economic and political context that spoke to both the early Dutch influences of the Baroque in Berlin and the renewed strength of the *Bürgertum* in the modern German Empire.

⁴⁸ The modern newspaper advertisement in Germany was often traced back to the Baroque era, when the appearance of State-controlled “*Intelligenzblätter*” at the turn of the eighteenth century introduced the idea of the printed announcement to cities like Berlin. As is illustrated in Cornelius Gurlitt's account of the Baroque, the capitalist system itself, which provided the ground condition for the flourescence of modern advertising, was often linked in these years to the development of mercantilist economic policies during the Baroque era.

historiography. In their recuperation of Baroque architecture during the 1880's and 1890's, art historians described the style in terms that resonated with and often directly invoked advertising. This can be clearly seen in the series of famous analyses – which became a sort of art historical trope – of the two facades of *Il Gesu* in Rome. By comparing engravings of Giacomo da Vignola's unbuilt composition and Giacomo della Porta's scheme, art historians derived the basic formal characteristics of the Baroque.⁴⁹ [Figs. 2.7, 2.8] Whereas Vignola's composition, still rooted in the artistic strategies of the Renaissance, aimed at the impression of lightness, calmness, crystalline clarity, and the direct interplay between interior and exterior, della Porta's façade had become, as Alois Riegl memorably put it, an “enormous wall in which everything has been set in motion.”⁵⁰ On the surface of this wall, contradictions between verticality and horizontality and between upward motion and oppressive weight played themselves out in a display of nascent Baroque dynamism.⁵¹

In his *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, Cornelius Gurlitt directly related the novelty of this wall to the visual strategies of the advertisement. Baroque architecture was, for him, a kind of *Reklamefläche* – an architectural billboard. After describing the façade's large repeating pedimental forms and its exaggeration of the central portal through the focused accretion of pediments, pilasters, columns and

⁴⁹ It should be noted that the printed page was a determining aspect of art historical theories of the Baroque. Rather than employing photographs or hand-drawn renderings, Wölfflin's analysis of the two facade schemes for *Il Gesu* was built around the side-by-side comparison of engravings of the projects. See Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Baroque: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (München: Theodor Ackermann, 1888).

⁵⁰ “Wir fragen uns, wodurch ist dieser Eindruck bedingt? Durch eine ungeheure Wand, in der aber alles in Bewegung geraten ist, nach Höhe, Breite und Tiefe.” Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (Wien: Anton Schroll, 1908), 109.

⁵¹ In an article devoted to a historical investigation of the treatment of wall surfaces, Oskar Bie similarly noted, “Das plastische herausheben einzelner Portale und Fenster, die stärkere Individualisierung der verschiedenen Abschnitte und Stücke der Front wird dann das Charakterzeichen der Barockzeit.” Oskar Bie, “Die Wand und ihre künstlerische Behandlung,” *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte* 88 (1900).

frames, Gurlitt argued, “The door attains an ever-greater importance, since the façade ceases to be the expression of the inner structure.” It became “a resplendent advertisement [*Reklame*] for the building, a showpiece [*Schaustück*].”⁵²

Similar to his analysis of della Porta’s previous design for the façade of *San Luigi dei Francesi*, in which the effects of the building’s “powerful wall” are likened to what he calls a “patterned curtain” with only minimal relation to its interior, the “increasing richness of forms” deployed on the *Il Gesù* façade results in an almost a-tectonic effect.⁵³ [Fig. 2.9] “Architecture,” he suggested, “had to develop more and more according to the model of the designer or the painter from the school of Caravaggio, not for the sake of the expression of particular ideas, but rather in order to create new principles with light and shadow and with line-play and overlapping decorative forms that break away from the demands of a stubborn material and of structural truth.”⁵⁴ As building surfaces became disassociated from the dictates of structural truth, material honesty, and the correspondence between interior and exterior, architecture sought out a new catalogue of formal effects that appealed directly to the eye.

Architecture became, in other words, “*malerisch*.” As has been frequently shown, the category of the “painterly” played a central role in late-nineteenth century accounts of the Baroque.⁵⁵ From Gurlitt to Giedion, the idea of the *malerisch* served

⁵² “Das Thor gewinnt eine immer größere Bedeutung, seit die Fassade aufhört der Ausdruck der inneren Struktur zu sein und zur glänzenden Reklame für den Bau, zum Schaustück herabsinkt.” Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887), 72. Gurlitt also suggests that this overly-articulated emphasis on the entry portal would lead the French to describe the facades of their churches as “portail.”

⁵³ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, 70.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Alina Payne, “Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the Relationship between the Arts from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier,” in *The Built Surface: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Karen Koehler (London: Ashgate, 2002);

as an overarching rubric through which art historians and architects parsed the powerful formal effects of the Baroque and the underlying principles of stylistic novelty.⁵⁶ Painterly effects were generated by Baroque architects through an illusion of movement where the interplay of light and shade, the dissolution of regular forms, and the overlapping of architectural elements creates a feeling of dynamism and restlessness. In this scenario, the Baroque's suggestion of movement appeals directly to the faculty of vision. The eye is led "to and fro", as Wölfflin famously put it, across the blurred contours, superimpositions, and dislocations of the building's surface. This highly calibrated control of perception was generally considered crucial to the Baroque's function as a tool for persuasion.⁵⁷

Contemporary accounts of the nascent field of professional advertising went hand in hand with the art historical Baroque. In a discussion of the recent evolution of the modern advertisement for the journal *Grenzboten*, for example, the art historian and aesthetician Konrad Lange noted that in order to fulfill its function of "standing out from its neighbors," the printed ad "must be original, either through its Baroque exaggeration or its Baroque simplicity."⁵⁸ Whether affixed to a building or set into the

Daniel Adler, "Painterly Politics: Wölfflin, Formalism and German Academic Culture, 1885-1915," *Art History* 27, no. 3 (June 2004): 431-456.

⁵⁶ At the very beginning of his 1888 book *Renaissance und Barock*, Wölfflin argued, "Art historians are in agreement that the most essential trait of Baroque architecture is its *painterly* character. The art of building abandons its characteristic nature and searches for effects borrowed from another art: it becomes painterly." Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 15.

⁵⁷ In her work on the reception of the Jesuit Baroque in nineteenth century German art history, Evonne Levy has shown that a persistent theme in arguments concerning the notion of a "*Jesuitenstil*" in architecture (initially formulated in the mid-1840's through Jakob Burckhardt's writing on the topic) was the importance of the faculty of sight as a strategy of suggestion and manipulation; in other words, as a constitutive element of propaganda. Levy noted, "A persistent theme in the Jesuit Style argument is that the emphasis the Jesuits placed on sight – from the imagination de lieu of the Spiritual Exercises to the dizzying material splendor found in some Jesuit churches – constituted a calculated strategy to manipulate the masses with the aim of bringing them into the order's purview." Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 34.

⁵⁸ "Es muß grelle Farben haben, es muß originell sein, entweder durch seine barocke Übertreibung oder – durch sine barocke Einfachkeit." Konrad Lange, "Der japanische Farbenholzschnitt," *Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst* 57 (1898): 90.

pages of a newspaper, the advertisement, like the Baroque façade, created a sensorium of the surface. In this process, the senses of hearing, taste, smell, and touch which once mediated the customer's first-hand purchasing experience at the market stall were rendered obsolete. They gave way to the predominance of the faculty of vision.⁵⁹ Echoing art historical theories that connected the Baroque's *malerisch* character to vision, the writer Dora Feigenbaum argued that the corresponding organ of sensation for the advertisement was "no longer the ear, but the eye."⁶⁰

The formal tools of the Baroque architect – contrast, repetition, duplication, distortion, exaggeration, overlapping, flipping, framing, layering, and disruption – resonated deeply with the graphic strategies of the newspaper advertiser. All of these techniques were directed towards catching the restless eye of the newspaper reader by defying visual expectations and upsetting traditional ideas of stasis and balance. An example of this can be seen in the writer Rudolf Cronau's *Buch der Reklame*.⁶¹ Published in the same year as Gurlitt's *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, the book was the first attempt at a comprehensive history of advertising. Cronau used a recent newspaper advertisement for men's ties as an illustration of the successful application of framing techniques. **[Fig. 2.10]** The composition features an array of mechanically reproduced hands – a motif that had become a ubiquitous element of

⁵⁹ In an essay on the subject of advertising psychology, Walter Dill Scott, a pioneering scholar in the nascent field of consumer psychology at the turn of the twentieth century, emphasized the close connection between advertising and visual sensation. "Advertisements," he described, "are sometimes spoken of as the nervous system of the business world... As our nervous system is constructed to give us all the possible sensations from objects, so the advertisement which is comparable to the nervous system awakens in the reader as many different kinds of images as the object itself can excite." Walter D. Scott, "The Psychology of Advertising," *The Atlantic* (January 1904).

⁶⁰ Dora Feigenbaum, "Die Reklame: Ihre Entwicklung und Bedeutung," *Deutschland: Monatsschrift für die gesamte Kultur* 7 (1905): 435. This journal included regular contributions by important intellectual figures like Eduard von Hartmann, Theodor Lipps, and Ferdinand Tönnies.

⁶¹ Rudolf Cronau. *Das Buch der Reklame. Geschichte, Wesen und Praxis der Reklame* (Ulm: Wohler'schen Buchhandlung, 1887).

modern newspaper advertising – stamped out along the border of a body of text. Each hand points inward, drawing the reader’s attention to the content of the ad.⁶² The advertisement’s suggestion of movement towards the center of the page, as well as its contrast between blank space and the printed word, could almost be taken as a diagram for the Baroque façade. Like the surface of the Baroque, the printed page of the advertisement was aimed, to use Cronau’s words, at “causing a sensation.”

These graphic techniques had been the subject of innovation in the Mosse office since its founding in the 1860’s. Mosse’s success was derived to a great degree from his carefully honed expertise in capturing the eye of the newspaper reader with optimal effect. Despite the seemingly chaotic and heterogeneous appearance of the typical advertising section in newspapers and magazines of the period, the format, order, and relative position of its individual components were carefully conceived. In the early 1880’s, Mosse established an “*Atelier für Inseratgestaltung*” (“Atelier for Advertisement Design”) inside his Berlin office. The studio functioned as a kind of commercial laboratory devoted to the study and implementation of visual effects. Well before the founding of the first press research institute at the University of Leipzig in 1916, Mosse’s atelier was concerned with optimizing the connection between newspaper advertising and perception. This was achieved through an examination of the relative effects of elements such as text content, typeface, framing, image, and the overall position of an advertisement on the page.⁶³

One of the most significant results of this commercial research program was the publication of a monumental *Klischee-Katalog* filled with over 1800 examples of fonts, signets, images, and borders. [Fig. 2.11] In addition to providing an extensive

⁶² Ibid., 76.

⁶³ The “*Institut für Zeitungswissenschaften*” at the University of Leipzig was founded by Karl Bücher.

menu of motifs for the purpose of customized ordering, the catalogue was a record of the office's observation, categorization, and, ultimately, instrumentalization of perception. From eye-catching border patterns to expressive icons like that of a shouting man (or, in one instance, a periwigged eighteenth-century figure who points to the words "*Bedenken Sie*"), the close relationship between perception and visual form illustrated in the catalogue exemplified Mosse's vested interest in the cultivation of the modern subject as consumer.⁶⁴

Importantly, through its employment of these techniques, the newspaper became a kind of architectural facade. This is the subject of a rarely-discussed essay by the architect Hermann Muthesius published in the *Festschrift* produced by the Mosse company on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.⁶⁵ For Muthesius, the extensive catalogue of formal operations developed over the years by Mosse followed at its most basic level the compositional principles of architecture.⁶⁶ This included

⁶⁴ These techniques soon became a sustained subject of enquiry well beyond the bustling rooms of the Mosse office. Throughout the 1880's and 1890's, specialized trade magazines such as *Die Reklame*, *Propaganda*, and *Moderne Reklame* emerged to meet the needs of professional advertisers. At the same time, detailed manuals relayed the specialized knowledge gained in professional advertising offices like Mosse's to a wider public. For example, J. H. Wehle's 1880 book *Die Reklame: Ihre Theorie und Praxis* revolves around a detailed tabulation of the visual effects most commonly employed in professionally designed advertisements. A section on the manipulation of text includes tactics such as antithesis, contrast, paradox, ellipsis, emphasis, euphemism, accumulation, paraphrase, anaphora, epiphora, polysyndeton, interruption, allusion, inversion, and climax. The book's lengthy appendix features illustrated examples of successful graphic strategies, including the juxtaposition of *Fraktur* and *Antiqua* fonts, the repetition and overlay of individual elements, the curving and bending of letters and words, the use of contrast, the construction of shadows, the thickness and position of borders, and the incorporation of photographic, etched, and hand-drawn images. See J.H. Wehle, *Die Reklame: Ihre Theorie und Praxis. Uebersichtliche Darstellung des gesamten Ankündigungswesen* (Vienna, Budapest, and Leipzig: A. Hartleben's Verlag, 1880).

⁶⁵ Hermann Muthesius, "Die künstlerische Zeitungsreklame," in *Fest-Schrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Annoncen-Expedition Rudolf Mosse* (Berlin, January 1, 1917). Although Muthesius' interest in the newspaper advertisement stemmed from his involvement in debates about advertising and design reform that unfolded within the intellectual orbit of the *Werkbund* after the turn of the twentieth century, his particular conception of the *Inserat* was rooted in the innovations of the Mosse office. Muthesius's essay for the Mosse *Festschrift* was directly preceded by an essay by Leopold von Wiese on the psychology of advertising. See Leopold von Wiese, "Die Psychologie der Reklame," in *Fest-Schrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Annoncen-Expedition Rudolf Mosse*.

⁶⁶ Hermann Muthesius, "Die künstlerische Zeitungsreklame," 82

“the accentuation of details by way of very large script which strongly contrasts with smaller ones, the change of writing style, the type of border, and many others.”⁶⁷

Returning to a theme that he often employed in his writings, Muthesius argued that the fundamental product of all human work was the creation of “rhythmic form.”⁶⁸

According to Muthesius, the areas of human activity that are most directly occupied with rhythm are music, as it relates to the ear, and architecture, as it relates to the eye. This essential connection to visuality means that the rules governing the composition of an architectural façade are the same ones underlying the newspaper advertisement’s attempt to direct the gaze of the reader.⁶⁹ If, as Muthesius suggested, “the entire domain of type and print falls under this concept of the architectural,” then it is through the language of architecture that the basis for successful advertising is most effectively ascertained.⁷⁰

In his analysis, Muthesius related the advertisement’s triggering of sensation to the separation of beauty (*Schönheit*) from function (*Zweckmäßigkeit*) in a building. “In and of themselves,” he claimed, “beauty and function have no inner connection to each other.”⁷¹ Whereas architecture’s functional obligations related to its fulfillment

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Similarly, Muthesius began his 1908 book *Die Einheit der Architektur: Betrachtungen über Baukunst, Ingenieurbau, und Kunstgewerbe* with the sentence, “Im Anfang war der Rhythmus.” Hermann Muthesius, *Die Einheit der Architektur: Betrachtungen über Baukunst, Ingenieurbau, und Kunstgewerbe* (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1908), 3. For more on Muthesius’ conception of rhythm, see Hans-Joachim Hubrich, *Hermann Muthesius: Die Schriften zur Architektur, Kunstgewerbe, Industrie in der “Neuen Bewegung*. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1981), 72-78. The application of the notion of rhythm to modern society was also discussed at the end of the nineteenth century in Karl Bücher’s influential book *Arbeit und Rhythmus* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1896).

⁶⁹ Muthesius argued that at its most basic level, the function of the newspaper advertisement is to attract attention (“*die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zu ziehen*”). In another place, Muthesius suggested, “*Das Inserat soll, wie das Plakat, auch dem mit dem Auge flüchtig Vorübereilenden auffallen. Es soll gelesen werden, auch wen es in einer Menge gleichartiger Anzeigen zu erstricken droht.*” Muthesius, “Die künstlerische Zeitungsreklame,” 83.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 82.

⁷¹ Ibid., 82.

of practical needs, the beautiful was, as he put it, “an issue of sensation alone.”⁷² Arising from the shared principles of rhythm, proportion, color, framing, and contrast, the visual effects of both the architectural facade and the advertisement are made possible by the manipulation of the *Kunstform*. Letters, borders, and images were to the *Inserat* what pilasters, friezes, and portals were to the exterior façade of the building.

In their attempts to create facades that draw the attention of onlookers, architects themselves employed the lessons of advertising and the results of art historical analyses of the Baroque. In a series of widely read publications from 1877 to 1890, the architect Hermann Maertens brought recent findings from the field of experimental psychology to bear on the viewer’s perception of buildings.⁷³ Maerten’s most famous writing was his 1877 book *Der Optische-Maassstab*.⁷⁴ The publication related what he called “aesthetic vision” to the subjective experience of painting, sculpture, and architecture.⁷⁵ Although Maerten’s text was ultimately directed towards architecture and the other arts, his book begins with the subject of legibility in advertising. Borrowing from the diagnostic tests developed by eye doctors to assess the visual aptitude of patients, Maertens uses a boldly-printed letter “I” set against a gridded background in order to establish the distances and angles beyond which text

⁷² Ibid., 82.

⁷³ As Brian Ladd has pointed out, Maertens was reviewed positively in architectural periodicals and was mentioned in all three editions of Stübgen’s *Der Städtebau*. See Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 117.

⁷⁴ H. Maertens, *Der Optische-Maassstab, oder die Theorie und Praxis des ästhetischen Sehens in den bildenden Künsten* (Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn, 1877).

⁷⁵ In the opening chapters of the book, Maertens drew heavily on the writings of Gustav Helmholtz in distinguishing between normal states of vision, which he called “direct vision”, and “*skizzirtes Sehen*”, which can be labeled “indirect vision.” These categories determine a subject’s response to a work of art or building, determining whether it is “relatively thin”, “too light”, “relatively thick”, or “too heavy.” Ibid., 9. A discussion of the role of Wundt’s theories in architecture can be found in the next section of this chapter.

is no longer legible to the “normal” viewer. In one of several tables that fill the book, he gathered together a set of numerical relationships calibrated to the position and size of a letter and the distance of the viewer from it. This, for Maertens, was of the utmost importance in the creation of shop signs that are affixed to the surface of the wall. In addition to the size, position, and color of the sign, he singled out the importance of contrast effects between letters and their background in establishing a visual presence that captures attention.

For Maertens, the typographic contrasts that make an advertisement stand out from the rest of a façade function in the same way as the light and shadow effects of architectural elements. Just as in the advertisement, the design of moldings and cornices serve the purpose of “gathering attention.”⁷⁶ Maertens investigated the comparative effects of different molding and cornice profiles according to the same criteria used for the letter “I”. To this end, numerous pages containing fold-out tables present data culled by Maertens from Stuart and Revett, Donaldson, Cockerell, and several other sources. From the Parthenon to the most recent buildings of Friedrich Hitzig, he analyzed facades according to their measurements and optimal viewing angles. [Figs. 2.12, 2.13, 2.14] Maertens used this information to make “critical-aesthetic notes” (“*Kritisch-ästhetische Bemerkungen*”). One of his first examples in the text portion of his book is Schlüter’s design for the Royal Palace. Maertens described the bold effects of the building from several different viewing positions around the *Spreeinsel*. In his treatment of the architectural surface as an independent site of visibility, Maertens’ analysis of the Baroque provided an architectural version of Mosse’s catalogue of forms.

⁷⁶ Maertens, *Der Optische-Maassstab*.

It is here that we can begin to see that the visual strategies developed by Mosse in the domain of advertising resonated with Ebe's own development of a Neo-Baroque. Ebe's conception of the Baroque was closely tied to his critique of the legacy of "tectonic" theories of architecture. During his discussion of Schlüter in *Die Spät-Renaissance*, he contended, "If there is a transformation of antiquity which is also in accordance with northern fantasy, then the classical Baroque of Schlüter corresponds with this more than the later Hellenistic Renaissance, whose primary objective – to dissolve the dichotomy between *Konstruktion* and *Kunstform* – could be just as little maintained as all earlier repetitions of the antique."⁷⁷ By distinguishing Schlüter's formal experimentation from the "Hellenistic Renaissance" in Berlin, Ebe raised a challenge to the tectonic school of the *Bauakademie*, which found its architectural expression in the buildings of Schinkel and its ultimate theoretical codification in Karl Bötticher's book *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*.⁷⁸ Although a detailed examination of Bötticher and his writings would take us beyond the scope of this chapter, it is significant in this context that his elaborate conception of tectonic expression was founded on a belief that classical Greek architecture, reduced to its most basic elements, illustrated a perfect correspondence between a building's constructional system – its "*Kernform*" – and its exterior decorative scheme – its "*Kunstform*." In an exhaustive series of examples, Bötticher showed how every

⁷⁷ Ebe, *Die Spät-Renaissance*, 626.

⁷⁸ The important role of Bötticher's theory for late-nineteenth century architectural debates will be dealt with in the following chapters of this dissertation. For Bötticher's book, see Karl Bötticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* (Potsdam: Ferdinand Riegel, 1852). For a general account of *Die Tektonik der Hellenen*, see Hartmut Mayer, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen: Kontext und Wirkung der Architekturtheorie von Karl Bötticher* (Stuttgart and London: Axel Menges, 2004); Mitchell Schwarzer, "Ontology and Representation in Karl Bötticher's Theory of Tectonics," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 52, no. 3 (September 1993): 267-280; Kai K. Gutschow, "Restructuring Architecture's History: Historicism in Karl Bötticher's Theory of Tectonics," in *(Re)viewing the Tectonic: Architecture/Techology/Production* (ACSA East Central Regional Conference, University of Michigan, Fall 2000).

element of a temple's exterior articulation symbolized some aspect of the building's underlying static essence. From load and support to the junctures between static members, the mechanical forces of a building were expressed through the symbolic capacity of decorative art forms.

Ebe's conception of the Baroque challenged the very notion of a union between construction and *Kunstform*.⁷⁹ In this way, Ebe's historical project intersected with important German-language debates from the late-nineteenth century about the notion of architectural raiment as developed in Bötticher's *Tektonik* and, by extension, in Semper's *Der Stil*.⁸⁰ Departures from Bötticher could be grouped into two general categories. On the one hand, architects sought to separate static essence from artistic embellishment by arguing that all architectural forms should be derived directly from construction rather than through symbolic representation.⁸¹ Ebe's account of the Baroque, on the other hand, depended on the independence of *Kunstform*.⁸²

⁷⁹ Whether in Schlüter's decorative transformation of Johann Arnold Nering's previous façade for the *Zeughaus*, resulting in a sculptural skin stretched around the existing structure, or in his designs for the grand entry portals of the Palace, which project out from the otherwise spare surfaces of the building's elevations, Ebe's account of the Baroque in Berlin emphasized the superficial treatment of the facade. A similar approach can be found in Ebe's discussion of architectural ornamentation in a 1901 essay for the journal *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*. In his attempt to trace the historical trajectory of specific decorational forms, Ebe outlines a development extending from Gothic ornamentation to the emergence of the Baroque cartouche form. In this formal trajectory, plant-inspired ornaments were no longer inseparably bound to what he calls the "*Kernform* of the structure", functioning instead "purely externally." Gustav Ebe, "Versuche in moderner Bau-Ornamentik," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 9 (1901-1902): 269.

⁸⁰ For a detailed account of the parameters of the debate around the idea of raiment in the late-nineteenth century, see Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993).

⁸¹ This can be seen in the Swiss architect Rudolf Redtenbacher's 1881 book *Tektonik*. "Architecture," Redtenbacher demanded, "begins with construction and ends where there is nothing left to construct." Rudolf Redtenbacher, *Tektonik, Principien der künstlerischen Gestaltung der Gebilde und Gefüge von Menschenhand welche den Gebieten der Architektur, der Ingenieurfächer und der Kunst-Industrie angehören* (Vienna: R. v. Waldheim, 1881), 1.

⁸² This treatment of Baroque composition resonated with a much wider fascination with the aesthetics of the surface within German architectural discourse at the end of the nineteenth century. For example, Oskar Bie's 1900 essay entitled "*Die Wand und ihre künstlerische Behandlung*" was devoted to a

Ebe's conception of the main façade of the *Mosse Palais* was also an affirmation of the autonomous architectural surface. It is important to note, in this regard, that Ebe & Benda displayed their project at exhibitions almost exclusively in the form of elevation drawings and façade models. As can be seen in the widely published transverse section of the building, which shows that the *Leipziger Platz* façade exists independently of the building's structural system, the *Mosse Palais* relied on an independent articulation of the surface. The building was, in this way, a kind of "*Reklamefläche*." It functioned as an architectural billboard that broadcasted Mosse's place in society through the very means developed by Mosse in the context of advertising. Standing independently from the building's structural system, the contrasting textures and patterns created by the manipulation of elements like the attic frieze, window frames, columns, pilasters, atlantes, rustication, and sculptural elements engaged with the viewer in the same way as the graphic strategies of the printed advertisement.

The Architecture of Attention

The conflation of architecture and advertising at the Mosse Palais allows for a more general examination of the importance of "*Aufmerksamkeit*," or "attention," in late-nineteenth century architecture in Berlin. The development of both architecture and advertising during these years was based on a common preoccupation with the idea of attentiveness. Jonathan Crary has shown that the category of attention became an important topos in debates about the nature of modernity within late-nineteenth

historical examination of the architectural surface from antiquity to the present. Bie, "Die Wand und ihre künstlerische Behandlung."

century visual culture.⁸³ As the prominent psychologist Edward Bradford Titchener argued, “The problem of attention is essentially a modern problem.”⁸⁴ Whether defined as the focalization and isolation of one stimulus from a wider field of simultaneous sensations or the conscious suppression of surrounding sensations in order to bring a particular stimulus clearly into perception, attention held a special relationship to both the compositional strategy of the Baroque architect and the techniques of the modern advertiser.

With the rediscovery of the Baroque in the 1880s, the term “*Aufmerksamkeit*” was connected to a specific mode of visual experience in the writings of scholars such as Gurlitt, Wölfflin, and Riegl. This connection between heightened, yet vulnerable, states of attention and the *malerisch* quality of the style was perhaps most clearly articulated by Geoffrey Scott:

Since architecture itself does not move, and the movement is in our attention, drawn here and there by the design, held and liberated by its stress and accent, everything must depend upon the kind of attention the design invites. An attention that is restrained, however worthily, at the several points of the design; an

⁸³ The most probing English-language account of the importance of attention during this time period remains Jonathan Crary’s *Suspensions of Perception* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000). Crary has also engaged with this theme in the following essays: “Attention, Spectacle, Counter-Memory,” *October* 50 (Fall 1989): 97-107; “Unbinding Vision,” *October* 68 (Spring 1994): 21-44; “Attention and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Picturing Science, Producing Art*, ed. Caroline Jones and Peter Gallison (New York: Routledge, 1998), 475-499; “Unbinding Vision: Manet and the Attentive Observer in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, ed. Leo Charney and Venessa R. Schwartz (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 46-71. For accounts of attention as it relates to early-twentieth century Berlin, see Charlotte Klonk, “Patterns of Attention: From Shop Windows to Gallery Rooms in Early Twentieth-Century Berlin,” *Art History* 28, no. 4 (September 2005): 468-496; Lutz Koepnick, *Framing Attention: Windows on Modern German Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

⁸⁴ Edward Bradford Titchener, *Experimental Psychology: A Manual of Laboratory Practice* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), 186. Titchener was one of several students to travel to Germany at the end of the nineteenth century to study with Wilhelm Wundt. Titchener held a position at Cornell University and was the translator into English of Wundt’s influential 1874 book *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* (*Principles of Physiological Psychology*).

attention at close focus and supplied by what it sees with a satisfying interest; an attention which is not *led on*, would yield no paramount sense of movement... For this reason there exists in baroque architecture rhythm and direction and stress, but no repose – discord, even – till the eye comes to rest in the broad unity of the scheme, and the movements of the attention are resolved in controlling lines.⁸⁵

This sense of directed movement, of controlled attention, connects the *malerisch* quality of the Baroque to the notion of advertising put forward in the analyses of the *Il Gesù* façade discussed above.

For art historians, Della Porta's façade was a study in the close interplay of attention (*Aufmerksamkeit*) and distraction (*Ablenkung*) as they relate to the experience of architecture. To take one example, Wölfflin noted that the rectangular shape of the church's main doorway, with its segmental pediment, pilasters, base, and entablature, has the same proportions as the entire central section of the façade as a whole. This ratio is obscured, however, through the disruptive insertion of another pediment with half-columns into the area of the segmental pediment with pilasters. According to Wölfflin, in this concentration and amplification of form, the half-columns are "presented as more important than the pilasters, thereby diverting attention [*Aufmerksamkeit*] from them."⁸⁶ He compared the building's effect on attention to the "stimulants [*Reizmitteln*]" of a developed musical composition."⁸⁷ Just like the *Fortissimo* of a score, the formal effects of the Baroque intensify the

⁸⁵ Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 116. This book was originally published in 1914.

⁸⁶ Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 56.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

perceptual relationship between the viewer and the façade.⁸⁸ Riegl expressed a similar idea in his account of the viewer's experience of the *Il Gesù* exterior. He noted, "The eye is entirely distracted [*ganz abgelenkt*] by the enormous decorative portal taking up the full height of the ground floor."⁸⁹

The conception of an architectural history of the Baroque inflected through the concepts of attention and distraction was closely related to efforts by physiologists and psychologists to subject *Aufmerksamkeit* itself to observation, classification, and measurement. This can be seen in the work of the pioneering psychologist Wilhelm Wundt.⁹⁰ In 1879, Wundt established what many historians of psychology consider as the first laboratory for experimental psychology. In his career-long effort to elucidate the mechanisms lying behind consciousness and experience, Wundt championed a rigorous research method devoted to the observation and quantification of sensations.⁹¹ His findings had a profound impact on a wide range of fields, including advertising, art history, and architecture.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁸⁹ "aber das Auge wird... ganz abgelenkt durch ein grandioses Schauportal, das die volle Höhe des Untergeschosses einnimmt." Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, 110.

⁹⁰ Wundt's central role in the history of psychology has made him the subject of a large body of scholarly literature. For general works that shed light on Wundt's contributions to theories of attention and perception, see R.M. Farr, "Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) and the Origins of Psychology as an Experimental and Social Science," *British Journal of Social Psychology* (1983); Robert W. Rieber and David K. Robinson, eds., *Wilhelm Wundt in History: The Making of a Scientific Psychology* (New York: Plenum Publishers, 2001); Robert W. Rieber, *Wilhelm Wundt and the Making of a Scientific Psychology* (New York: Plenum Press, 1980); Thomas H. Leahey, "Something Old, Something New: Attention in Wundt and Modern Cognitive Psychology," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 15, no. 3 (1979): 242-252; K. Danziger, *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Arthur L. Blumenthal, "Leipzig, Wilhelm Wundt, and Psychology's Gilded Age," in *Portraits of Pioneers in Psychology*, ed. Gregory A. Kimble and Michael Wertheimer (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1998).

⁹¹ The results of Wundt's ongoing experiments into the phenomenon of attention from the late-1870s onward were published in his 1862 book *Beiträge zur theorie der sinneswahrnehmung*, his 1874 book *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, and in several essays by Wundt and his student collaborators which appeared over the course of a decade in his own journal *Philosophische Studien*, the first German-language journal devoted to psychological research.

In a series of famous experiments, Wundt and his students recorded the time lapse between the registration of an external stimulus on a sense organ and the resulting movement of some member of the body.⁹² This was called the “reaction-time.” The aim of these experiments was directed at recording as closely as possible the reaction-time between a preliminary impression and a resulting motion. Visuality was a privileged locus for the laboratory’s enquiries into the transformation of a sensory stimulus into a psycho-physical impulse. For Wundt, consciousness itself could be regarded as a field of vision. Entering objects, like images appearing at the edges of a visual field, are at first only indefinitely perceived. As objects or images pass from this general field, called a “*Blickfeld*,” into a locus of clear perception, known as the “*Blickpunkt*,” they are “apperceived.” They become, in other words, the object of concentrated attention. The first doctoral dissertations to be completed in Wundt’s laboratory explored this connection between reaction-time and selective attention.⁹³ Amongst their many findings, Wundt and his students discovered that the speed of reaction-time and, with it, the level of attention increased with respect to the nature and context of the initial signal.⁹⁴

The quantitative understanding of these variables made it possible not only to measure attention, but also to guide and control it. Reaction-time, visual perception, and the fluid relationship between *Blickfeld* and *Blickpunkt* therefore easily lent themselves to the purposes of advertising. One of the most direct applications of

⁹² This stimulus could take the form of the flash of an electric spark, the sounding of a bell, a falling ball, or the sudden appearance of colors, figures, letters, or words projected onto a screen or seen through a specially-designed shutter-controlled viewing apparatus. The subsequent body motion could, in turn, be constituted by a finger pressing a key, a part of the body breaking a circuit, or by the subject calling into a tube.

⁹³ See, for example Nicolai Lange, “Beiträge zur Theorie der sinnlichen Aufmerksamkeit und der activen Apperception,” in *Philosophische Studien* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1888).

⁹⁴ For a discussion of these variables in relation to Wundt’s experiments, see William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (Henry Holt & Co., 1890), 94-97.

Wundt's ideas concerning the nature of attention appeared in the experimental program of the psychologist Harlow Stearns Gale. Gale was one of several North American students who traveled to Germany in the final decades of the nineteenth century to study under Wundt at his laboratory in Leipzig.⁹⁵ After his time in Germany, Gale returned to the United States in 1895 as professor of Physiological Psychology and director of the experimental psychology laboratory at the University of Minnesota.⁹⁶ With the help of students in his seminars, he initiated multiple experiments into the psychological effects of advertising, including what he called "aesthetic experiments on proportions" and a series of investigations into attention.⁹⁷

As reported in his self-published book *On the Psychology of Advertising*, based on a seminar from the academic year 1896-97, Gale and his students sought to measure and analyze the "attention value" of basic advertising motifs. They attempted to reproduce a subject's experience of rapidly turning the leaves of a magazine or newspaper.⁹⁸ In over six thousand individual trials, subjects were positioned in a dark room furnished with a table, chair, and a small electric light rigged up to flash almost

⁹⁵ For more on Wundt's influence on North American psychologists, see Robert W. Rieber and David K. Robinson, eds., *Wilhelm Wundt in History: The Making of a Scientific Psychology* (New York: Plenum Publishers, 2001). In a 1921 issue of the *Psychological Review*, many of Wundt's American students contributed reminiscences of their teacher's work and personality. See "In memory of Wilhelm Wundt, by his American Students," *The Psychological Review* 28, no. 3 (May 1921): 153-188; M.A. Tinker, "Wundt's doctorate students and their theses: 1875-1920," *American Journal of Psychology* 44 (1932): 630-637; Serge Nicolas and Ludovic Ferrand, "Wundt's Laboratory at Leipzig in 1891," *History of Psychology* 2, no. 3 (August 1999): 194-203.

⁹⁶ According to the biographical information assembled by Karen Spilman for the University of Minnesota Archives, Gale was twice dismissed and then re-hired by the University of Minnesota. Following his resignation in 1903, Gale worked first in the insurance field and then as a principle clerk for materials and cost records of sewer tunnels and storm drains for the city of Minneapolis. During this time, he still ran a private psychological laboratory.

⁹⁷ Documents related to the experiments on proportion are held at the Harlow Stearns Gale papers, University of Minnesota Archives (Vol. 1, Box 2). Gale's interest in the psychological effects of proportions could be connected to a simultaneous reexamination of the proportional systems of architectural styles within art history and architecture. See, for example, the writings of August Thiersch and Heinrich Wölfflin's analysis of the proportions of the triumphal arch.

⁹⁸ Harlow Gale, "On the Psychology of Advertising," in *Psychological Studies* (Minneapolis, 1900), 39-69.

instantaneously. Complete pages taken from the advertising sections of three monthly magazines were fastened onto a vertical frame located two feet from the viewer. This distance was meant to approximate the conditions of reading.⁹⁹ After a quick flash of light temporarily revealed a single magazine page, subjects were asked which part of the sheet first caught their attention. The length of the flash was deliberately conceived as the amount of time necessary to stimulate attention while disallowing the kind of comprehension gained from a more sustained encounter with the page. After all, Gale argued, “As soon as the novelty wears off, the advertisement loses its interest.”¹⁰⁰

The kind of perception staged in Gale’s experiments was kindred in nature to the attentiveness stimulated by the formal composition of the Baroque. The viewing conditions simulated in the Gale’s laboratory contrasted sharply with the qualities of harmony, beauty, stasis, and balance that constituted the primary goals of “traditional” aesthetic contemplation. This can be illustrated by comparing Gale’s continually distracted subject with a famous portrait photograph of Wölfflin seated in his private study. **[Fig. 2.15]** The undated image depicts Wölfflin in the midst of contemplating a work of art. Like the participants in the advertising experiments, Wölfflin takes in the image at arm’s length. Unlike Gale’s experiments, however, he assumes a pose of sustained and contemplative engagement with the work of art.¹⁰¹ In

⁹⁹ In a system taken from Wundt’s own experiments into visual perception, the lamp was placed directly in front of the frame with a reflector that directed light away from the viewer’s eyes and onto the magazine pages.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. In subsequent experiments, Gale sought to understand the relative attraction of relevant and irrelevant material in ads, the most striking position on a page for an advertisement, and the effects of letter size. In order to ascertain the latter, he introduced a method in which subjects viewed comparative sheets for brief amounts of time through a large photographic shutter.

¹⁰¹ For extended discussions of this photograph, see Juliet Koss, *Modernism after Wagner* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in Germany, 1871-1918* (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007).

several articles on art historical and pedagogical topics, Wölfflin contrasted this mode of cultivated and disciplined viewing with what he called the “savaged eye of today’s man.” This contrast followed the same logic as his distinction between Renaissance and Baroque composition. Unlike the clarity and linearity of the Renaissance, Wölfflin linked this “straying of the eye without discipline”, a characteristic attribute of spectatorship under the pressures of mass culture, to the *malerisch* effects of the Baroque.¹⁰² This, of course, was also the realm of the modern newspaper reader. The reader’s fleeting attention continuously shifted from one stimulus to another, guided by a state of formal intoxication.

This visual field also characterized the sensory environment of the modern metropolis. In the introduction to his popular 1895 book *Thinking, Feeling, Doing*, the experimental psychologist Edward Wheeler Scripture aligned the experience of the newspaper advertisement with the viewer’s perception of the modern metropolis.¹⁰³ Both presented examples of the negotiation between “a focus (or burning-point) of experience” and a wider “field of experience” that presents itself to a viewer when faced with a stimulus.¹⁰⁴ Parallel to the “special effort” that is required in order to focus on single elements in a busy commercial street, the advertiser’s toolbox of

¹⁰² Heinrich Wölfflin, “Wie man Skulpturen Aufnehmen Soll,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 7 (1896): 224-228. Reprinted in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 26 (1915): 237-244. For an extended discussion of this article, see Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in Germany, 1871-1918*. A similar note was struck two decades earlier by Carl Justi in his monumental biography of Winckelmann. According to Justi, “The era of technical surprises, photography, world’s fairs, and universal museums has swept humanity along new courses with irresistible force. . . . Everything is welcomed now, the semibarbaric and the petrified, the refined and the decadent. Only the rational and the beautiful, as a rule, find no honor. On the contrary, to fortify nerves overexcited by such stimuli and prepare the way for the “superman” of the future, mankind is being advised to take a mudbath of bestiality. In such conditions, the [normative] concept of beauty, which dominates Winckelmann’s theory of art, has been unanimously rejected by scholars.” Carl Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1866-1872).

¹⁰³ E. W. Scripture, *Thinking, Feeling, Doing* (Meadville, PA: Flood and Vincent, 1895).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

formal strategies – bigness, brightness, intensity of feeling, expectation, curiosity, and simulation of movement – contributes to arousing directed attention in the reader and imprinting an external stimulus into his memory.¹⁰⁵

In his investigation of reading culture in Berlin during the Wilhelmine era, Peter Fritzsche argued that the newspaper “was inseparable from the modern city and served as a perfect metonym for the city itself.”¹⁰⁶ Contemporary observers of Berlin frequently employed the image of the newspaper to describe the distinct visual character of the metropolis.¹⁰⁷ The mass-circulation newspaper was an integral part of the metropolitan scene. The paper grew step in step with the physical growth of the city around it. Its juxtaposition of different stories and its quick updates from morning to afternoon to evening provided a corollary to the kinds of perceptual shocks which the sociologist Georg Simmel famously attributed to the spectator’s encounter with the crowds and sites of the cityscape. As a condensation of the city at large, the advertising section of the newspaper reflected the bewildering accretion of signs, posters, lettering, and electrically lit commercial displays in the streetscape.

¹⁰⁵ In his discussion of modern urban experience, Scripture noted, “The mental condition would be more nearly expressed by pointing the camera down a busy street. You focus on one thing, then on another. The things in focus pass out of it, others come in. Only by special effort can you keep a moving person or wagon in focus for more than a moment.” Ibid., 91.

¹⁰⁶ Fritzsche. *Reading Berlin 1900*, 23. The important role of the newspaper in the cultivation of a metropolitan reading culture, as well as in the subjective perception of the modern city itself, has been the subject of several recent studies. See, for example, Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture before 1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For an early study on the nature of the modern newspaper, see J. H. Wehle, *Die Zeitung: Ihre Organisation und Technik* (Vienna, Budapest, and Leipzig: A. Hartleben’s Verlag, 1883).

¹⁰⁷ According to Fritzsche, “Mass-circulation newspapers themselves quickened the flow of this metropolitan stream. Bold headlines and front-page layouts, opinionated writing and loud-mouthed newsboys, all enhanced the clamor of the city. The big-city daily grabbed readers, showed them any number of windows onto urban scenes, and hurried them along to the next sensation, the next window. If newspaper stories openly invited readers to browse the city, newspaper style surreptitiously taught them how.” Fritzsche. *Reading Berlin 1900*, 129.

In his *Buch der Reklame*, mentioned above, Cronau traced the development of the modern advertisement from the tattoos and body-extending ornaments of various Native peoples to the salespeople of the modern metropolis. These include the beer tap vendor, whose entire inventory of taps and cleaning brushes are hung from a scaffold in front of his body, and ubiquitous “sandwich man.”¹⁰⁸ [Figs. 2.16, 2.17] Both the tap vendor and the sandwich man are literally all surface. For Cronau, the advertiser’s board created a commercial prosthesis as characteristic of its own time as the long pointed shoes worn by the noblemen of the Middle Ages and the colossal “*Haartürme*” (“Hair Towers”) and “*Perrücke*” styles worn during the Baroque period.

In his daily perambulations up and down commercial streets such as *Friedrichstraße* and *Leipzigerstraße*, the sandwich man was one part of a much more extensive cityscape of advertising. His colorful stockade was a façade in a city of façades. In a New York City street scene created by Cronau during his trip to the United States in 1881, a traveling vendor and a sandwich man are foregrounded against a backdrop of people, carriages, goods, and trains. The sandwich man’s billboard assumes its place alongside painted letters, hanging signs, and other commercial texts affixed to walls by metal brackets and scaffolding. As the visual

¹⁰⁸ Just like Lord Sandwich’s original creation, consisting of “a thin slice of meat or cheese between two slices of square, often thin, de-crusted, and buttered white bread”, these “wandering sandwiches”, as Cronau describes them, are made up of two advertising boards (and less frequently glass cases filled with sample products) that hang in front and in back of the body. Successors to the sandwich man included figures such as the “stilt man” (whose legs are elongated by the use of stilts), the “talking sign” (a sandwich man who bears a gramophone and a number of records), and the “lantern man” (who wears a large lantern on top of his head that emits beams of light in all directions). Although a full discussion of the place of the sandwich-man in modern society is not possible here, it is important to note that he became a particularly charged figure in late-nineteenth century writings about the metropolis. Countless essays, stories, and journalistic writings in Germany and abroad focused on the abject social position of the sandwich-man. For many, the destitute, almost ghostly nature of the sandwich-man made him a symbol of the inequities of the metropolis and an sign of the place of the body under capitalism. In the 1930’s, Walter Benjamin famously argued, “The sandwichman is the last incarnation of the flaneur.” For more on Benjamin’s analysis of the sandwich-man, see Susan Buck-Morse, “The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering,” *New German Critique* 39 (Autumn 1986): 99-140.

equivalent of the cry of the *Ausrufer*, these “*Aushängeschilder*” telescope outward into the street in an attempt to draw the attention of potential customers.

In an essay for the journal *Umschau*, the director of the Bremen Museum of Applied Arts lamented that architects now provided only the first stage of a building’s design. It was the owner of the commercial sign shop who finished the project by producing the garish lettering and layer upon layer of seemingly indiscriminately juxtaposed posters that were applied directly on top of the building’s facade. If the poor architect responsible for one of these structures were to stumble upon his project in its “finished” state, he would certainly proclaim, “Here behind these hideous company signs [*Firmenschildern*] resides a very handsome architecture designed by me.” Not even Berlin’s historic monuments, whose surfaces were protected from such treatment by a series of legal provisions, could escape the reach of this commercial encrustation. In an advertisement for the *Amol* brand of medicine, for example, the Brandenburg Gate’s columns, metopes, and even the horses of its quadriga sculpture are imprinted with the repeating letters A-M-O-L. [Fig. 2.18]

A cartoon published in an 1884 issue of *Fliegende Blätter* succinctly illustrated the link between this advertising ornamentation and attention. The image depicts a group of city-dwellers hopelessly sucked into the entryway of a department store. A thick assemblage of advertisements frames the building’s portal. As hats fly into the air and pedestrians grip for their lives onto the sides of buildings, architecture fulfills its function of “pulling in the public.” In its manipulation of the *Kunstform* as a way of directing the attention of the onlooker, the building’s commercial adornments function in an analogous way to the pediments, pilasters, and entablatures of the Baroque facade. [Fig. 2.12]

Architecture itself was an integral part of this landscape. As each new building in the metropolis sought to outdo the aesthetic impact of its neighbor, the architecture of the city, like the advertising section of the newspaper, achieved what Gurlitt described as a sustained state of “*Fortissimo*.”¹⁰⁹ It was this attitude towards form-making that had transformed the traditionally understated architecture of Berlin into “the most opulent, indeed the wildest in the world.”¹¹⁰ Oftentimes literally bolted onto the red Prussian brick exteriors of existing commercial and residential buildings, this kind of amplified ornamentation transformed Berlin into an ever-renewable canvas of sandstone facades.

The relation of this urban environment to attention was an important theme in the writings of the architect Adolf Göller.¹¹¹ In his attempt to describe architecture from the point of view of subjective experience, Göller built an entire psychological theory of the Baroque around the interconnection between attention and built form. In the first part of his book *Das ästhetische Gefühl*, Göller used Wundt’s conception of the “*Blickpunkt*” to discuss the effect of exterior stimuli on attention.¹¹² He noted that each time we look, the surface of the retina is able to focus directly only on a single point in a field of vision. Peripheral objects appear vaguely defined and incomplete.

¹⁰⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Berliner Architektur,” *Die Gegenwart* 2 (1892): 30.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹¹ Although Göller was trained as an architect and taught classes on the technical aspects of building starting in the early 1880’s at the Stuttgart *Polytechnikum*, he is best remembered for his lectures and publications dealing with architectural aesthetics. Göller’s most important books were his 1887 *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur* and his posthumous manuscript *Das ästhetische Gefühl*, published in 1905. For recent explorations of Göller’s theoretical contributions to architectural discourse, see Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*; Mitchell Schwarzer, “Visual Historicism in the Aesthetics of Adolf Göller,” *Art History* 18, no. 4 (December 1995): 568-583; Harry Francis Mallgrave, “Gucci or Göller? Architectural Theory Past and Present,” *Fabrications* 10 (1999); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *The Architect’s Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity, and Architecture* (John Wiley and Sons, 2010).

¹¹² Göller traces this concept back to the seventeenth century philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’s idea of “apperception.”

This does not mean, however, that the eye must remain fixed to a single image in the *Blickpunkt*. A flash of light, sudden movement, or any other change to the field of vision is capable of shifting our attention to a previously outlying point of concentration.

As was the case in Gale's experiments on advertising, the stronger the image that enters the *Blickpunkt*, the more clearly and completely it captures our attention. Moreover, the strength of a sensorial impression increases the strength of our memory of it. Göller calls this power to recall an image our "*Gedächtniskraft*." Stemming from the research of Wundt and, by extension, the work of the philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart, Göller's treatment of perception revolved around the notion of a "memory image" (*Gedächtnisbild*). In several writings, he defined this term as the psychological residue of previously encountered forms. The mental work required in incorporating new sensorial impressions into the memory image becomes the basis for feelings of aesthetic enjoyment.¹¹³

When mental work is no longer required in processing an impression, nothing more can be added to the memory image. This leads to the phenomenon of "*Ermüdung*" ("jading"), wherein forms lose their power to attract our attention. It is at this point that the architect or artist adds new "*Reizmittel*" ("stimulants") to a form in an attempt to heightening its visual effects. Whether counteracted through variation,

¹¹³ It is worth noting that Göller's theories concerning the relation between mental work and aesthetics were not only inspired by scientific research, but also had a kind of return impact on the field of physiological aesthetics. Wundt himself cites Göller in the second volume of his *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, first published in 1887. Wundt notes, "*Welche große Bedeutung den Vorstellungsverbindungen zukommt, in welche für uns jeder äußere Eindruck sich einfügt, hat Göller in einer vortrefflichen Analyse einiger ästhetischer Elementarwirkungen, vorzugsweise aus dem Gebiete der Architektur, gezeigt.*" Wilhelm Wundt, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* (W. Engelmann, 1887), 224.

distortion, or duplication, jading becomes a driving force in the change from one historical style to another.¹¹⁴

The idea of jading and visual exhaustion was fundamental to Göller's psychological account of Baroque architecture. For Göller, the Baroque was both a specific point in the historical chronology of architecture and a more general state of form arising from the principles of hybridity, amplification, and increased stimulation. As architects in a Baroque era heighten the impact of a building by arranging masses in new ways, by using new combinations of artistic forms within the plane of the façade, and by intensifying borrowed forms, the memory image of the observer is intensified. This occurs until the onset of a state of ultimate formal fatigue. "Like a conflagration," Göller suggested, "[the Baroque] consumed all imaginable combinations of its own elements of form before it was extinguished." Ultimately, the Baroque left "the sense of form utterly devastated."¹¹⁵ A simpler phase of form-making arose from the ruins of this final outburst.

Göller's most thorough assessment of the Baroque came in his 1888 book *Die Entstehung der architektonischen Stilformen*.¹¹⁶ The publication was devoted to a historical account of the development of architectural styles from the perspective of the aesthetic experience. In the book, Göller provided a basic definition of the Baroque: "With the term Baroque style, one signifies the transformation of architecture following the Renaissance, in which the existing elements of established

¹¹⁴ Adolf Göller, "What is the Cause of Perpetual Style Change in Architecture?," in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics 1873-1893*, Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios, eds., 193-226.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 224. Göller concludes, "Since there was no longer anything capable of germinating at the scene of the fire, nothing Baroque could grow again in the garden of the reawakening architecture." Ibid., 224.

¹¹⁶ Adolf Göller, *Die Entstehung der architektonischen Stilformen: Eine Geschichte der Baukunst nach dem Werden und Wandern der Formgedanken* (Suttgart: Konrad Wittwer, 1888).

structural forms [*Werkformen*], decorative ingredients, or the natural connection between both are discarded in order to heighten the formal appearance through abnormality and richness.”¹¹⁷ The Baroque’s effects are achieved through the manipulation of the *Kunstform* at the expense of the expression of structural truth.¹¹⁸ Göller noted, “No wonder that construction was now a hidden aspect of the building. One could no longer make an impression with it – that was now only possible with the exterior form! As a result, form only, but form *en masse*!”¹¹⁹

In a way that could be compared to the *Klischee Katalog* of the advertiser, Göller provided a long list of specific formal operations that contribute to the exaggerated effects of the Baroque. Each is aimed at “the overcoming of matter” (“*die Ueberwindung des Stoffes*”).¹²⁰ In one of several detailed examples, he described Daniel Pöppelmann’s application of ornamentation to the Zwinger in Dresden. Göller proclaimed, “What a richness of appearances! All individual forms of an architectural style are now only elements for ever-new configurations. Mathematics teaches us that already with a slight increase of the number of these elements, the number of possible combinations grows tremendously. The Baroque style is truly dedicated to illustrating this mathematical rule.”¹²¹ New inflections and combinations of previous forms quickly become insufficient to attract the attention of the viewer. This leads to an

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 359.

¹¹⁸ Göller noted, “In the wildest works of the Baroque style, the expression of the constructive or spatial performance of the building members are often lost or faked.” Ibid., 359.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 383.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 363.

¹²¹ Ibid., 369.

increasingly rapid turnover of motifs, resulting in a kind of fever condition. Göller called this “form-intoxication.”¹²²

There is no such thing as an unchanging, ideal, and eternally beautiful style. The rules of aesthetic perception preclude the fantasy of stasis. Multiple times in his analysis of the Baroque, Göller declared, “*Es ist keines bleibens!*”¹²³ This ceaseless introduction of novelty connected the historical Baroque to the situation of contemporary architects. Not only did architecture at the time of Göller’s writing mine all past styles without compunction, but it also, like the Baroque, led to rapid changes in styles. In imagining the possibility of a new direction, he saw no escape from architecture’s increasing demands on attention. “The new style,” he claimed, “would only have the choice between selecting from the forms of existing architectural styles or, developing a Baroque style from the very beginning.”¹²⁴

Göller’s description of style change in architecture followed the same psychological laws that governed the closely related concept of fashion. He argued, “Only in recent architectural history does the fact occur that in the span of a few decades or years, one architectural style is lost and another is borrowed, just like one new costume [*Kleidertracht*] can replace another overnight.”¹²⁵ The state of intoxication that Göller associated with the unbridled development of the *Kunstform* mirrors the constant search for novelty that commentators at the end of the nineteenth century attributed to the influence of fashion. Buildings, dresses, and dressers all

¹²² According to Göller, the Baroque “was the largest form-intoxication of architecture; there is nothing more beyond it. The wildest accomplishments of the late-Gothic are models of conformity (*Gesetzmässigkeit*) next to the frenzied caprice of the Baroque style in its most Baroque works.” Ibid., 382. He argued that viewers who do not have a heightened ability to process memory-images are not able to appreciate the formal novelties of the Baroque façade.

¹²³ Ibid., 453.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 453.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 439.

evolved according to the same rules. In this way, Göller's theory of the Baroque constituted a broader explanation of the fate of architectural form under the forces of capitalism.

His analysis of the style bears an unmistakable resemblance to the economist Werner Sombart's own discussion of the nature of fashion. In a 1902 essay entitled "*Wirtschaft und Mode*," Sombart noted, "Fashion is the favorite child of capitalism. It emerges from the innermost essence of capitalism and reveals its nature like few other phenomena of the social life of our time."¹²⁶ For Sombart, one of the most important traits of modern fashion was the frantic tempo of its change. This was evident in the area of women's clothing, where a fashion trend could change "four to five times in the same season."¹²⁷ Even in the men's tailcoat, which would appear to have achieved a stable form over time, internal variations in every detail of the garment were the subject of continual renewal. As fashions were introduced to upper levels of society and then found their way by way of replication to lower strata, entrepreneurs instigated an endless cycle of taste.

Sombart noted that this resulted in a "wild hunt for perpetually new forms whose tempo becomes more rapid than what production and distribution technologies can keep up with."¹²⁸ Such quick change presented an almost insurmountable challenge to designers and manufacturers. They must capture the fickle attention of consumers by producing continuous novelty. Sombart cited an article from an 1899 issue of the trade magazine *Confectionärs* concerned with the preparation of new patterns for the spring 1900 season:

¹²⁶ Werner Sombart, *Wirtschaft und Mode: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der modernen Bedarfsgestaltung* (Wiesbaden: J.F. Bergmann, 1902), 23.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

Today, when downright mammoth efforts have been made and will continue to be made, when one has already designed and delivered everything possible in the course of the last few years, when one has exploited every form of ornament from every conceivable direction – whether it is foliage and flowers or ornamental motifs such as diagonals or long-striped and crossing patterns – when one has tried and executed every binding and every displacement and used every thread in all possible interlacings and combinations; today it is difficult, and often a downright headache, for manufacturers and designers to bring together the new collections.¹²⁹

The same could easily be said of the architect's plight. Facades were expected to draw attention from neighboring buildings through the application of increasingly heightened formal effects.

Ultimately, the amplified ornamentation of the Neo-Baroque was applied and perceived in the terms of exchange value. As Sombart famously put it, the façade began to speak the language of “Capitalese.” According to Frederic Schwartz, “Ornamentation had become a commodity, and the useful object served to a large extent as the mere carrier of these forms.”¹³⁰ Similarly, in his 1913 book *Die Architektur der Großstadt*, Karl Scheffler argued that under the forces of capitalism, the urban façade had become a “*Handelsobjekt*,” an object of commerce.¹³¹ “Apartment building facades,” Scheffler maintained, “are differentiated only when the decorators and stucco workers arrive with their cornices, their stucco decoration in the

¹²⁹ Ibid., 20-21.

¹³⁰ Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*, 34.

¹³¹ Karl Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Großstadt* (Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1998), 33.

taste of some period-style or other, when roofs and towers are arbitrarily attached and the familiar orgy of proletarianized ornament begins.”¹³² Unleashed from its functional and moral connection to structural motives, the façade now existed, as Scheffler put it, exclusively “for the external display of the commodity.”¹³³ In its connection back to the commercial stockade of the beer tap vendor and sandwich man, architecture had become synonymous with advertising.

Fashion, Commodity, and the Neo-Baroque: Bernhard Sehring’s Tietz Department Store

In order to illustrate this process, it will be useful to return to the example at the opening of this chapter – the department store. It was here, according to contemporary accounts, that Neo-Baroque architecture, modern advertising, and the aesthetic principles of the Baroque found their most complete synthesis.¹³⁴ Just as Schlüter’s design for the Royal Palace constituted a concrete manifestation of Prussian political power, the much more recent building type of the department store was seen as the triumph of the forces of capitalistic modernity. In 1901, the critic

¹³² Ibid., 33.

¹³³ Ibid., 33.

¹³⁴ The literature on the architecture of the modern department store, as well on its larger historical, social, and economic context, is vast. For overviews of the architecture of the *Warenhaus* in Germany, see Kathleen James, “From Messel to Mendelsohn: German department store architecture in defence of urban and economic change,” in *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850-1939*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain (London: Ashgate, 1999); Helmut Frei, *Tempel der Kauflust. Eine Geschichte der Warenhauskultur* (Leipzig, 1997); Siegfried Gerlach, *Das Warenhaus in Deutschland. Seine Entwicklung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg in historisch-geographischer Sicht* (Stuttgart, 1988); H. Pasdermajian, *Das Warenhaus* (Köln, 1954); Christian Schramm, *Deutsche Warenhausbauten. Ursprung, Typologie und Entwicklungstendenzen* (Aachen: Verlag Shaker, 1995); William Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (Leicester University Press, 1995); Jürgen Schwarz, *Architektur und Kommerz. Studien zur deutschen Kauf- und Warenhausarchitektur vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg am Beispiel der Frankfurter Zeil* (Frankfurt a.M.: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut, 1995).

Hans Schliepmann described the *Warenhaus* as “the most modern of all architectural problems.”¹³⁵ With its accumulation of many categories of wares under one roof and its creation of spectacular retail environments free from the pressure of a “*Kaufzwang*,” or expectation of purchase, the department store was “a city in itself.”¹³⁶

As is evident in nicknames such as “glass palace,” “palace of goods,” or “palace of consumption,” the department store had, in many ways, become the new *Schloss*. In his 1908 book *Berliner Warenhäuser*, the author Leo Colze suggested:

There are four rulers in Berlin, uncrowned emperors, whose strict regimes are everywhere acknowledged and whose governing decrees and proclamations give rise to much laudatory discussion. These uncrowned lords are the department stores, [they] are Wertheim, Tietz, Jandorf, and Kaufhaus des Westens. The transformation of Berlin into a major metropolis, a *Weltstadt*, is closely tied to the arrival of these shopping palaces.¹³⁷

Echoing Mosse’s nickname as the *Zeitungskönig*, a 1906 article in the journal *Soziale Revue* likened the names Tietz, Jandorf, and Wertheim to “German department store kings” and suggested that one could even speak of a “Tietz dynasty.”¹³⁸

Apart from its royal associations, the department store was a prime site for the Neo-Baroque. This is evident in the *Lichthof* designed by the architect Alfred Messel

¹³⁵ Hans Schliepmann, “Architektur,” *Berliner Architekturwelt* 3 (1901): 318.

¹³⁶ Georg Buss, “Das Warenhaus. Ein Bild aus dem modernen Geschäftsleben,” *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte* 1 (1906/1907): 616.

¹³⁷ Leo Colze, *Berliner Warenhäuser* (Leipzig and Berlin: H. Seemann, 1908), 9.

¹³⁸ M. Gladbach and Dr. Engel, “Beitrag zur Warenhausfrage,” *Soziale Revue, Zeitschrift für die sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart* 6 (1906): 274.

for the first phase of the Wertheim department store, built from 1896-1897. The monumental staircase that constituted the center piece of the space not only appropriated the use of spectacular staircases at previous department stores in Paris and at Charles Garnier's grand Opéra, but also directly evoked the German Baroque tradition of *Treppenhäuser* as developed at palaces such as Würzburg, Pommersfelden, and Brühl.¹³⁹ Situated at the rear of a large court surrounded by a stack of shopping galleries to each side, the staircase rose upwards between a sculpture of "Labor" by the artist Ludwig Manzel, located at the bottom landing of the stairs, and Fritz Gehrke's monumental painting of the arrival of goods at a modern harbor, installed just below the building's expansive iron and glass tunnel vault. Messel's use of giant pilasters and a broken pediment filled with an oversized sculptural cartouche created the effect of a monumental Baroque showpiece at the end of the building's main entry axis.¹⁴⁰

Closely related to its role as a setting for the theatrical rituals of shopping, the stair hall was perceived as a form of advertisement. According to Alfred Wiener, an early writer on the *Warenhaus* phenomenon, the central space of the department store was a "representation expense that could not be approximated by any number of

¹³⁹ The *Treppenhaus* will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5 of this dissertation in relation to theories of architectural space.

¹⁴⁰ This feature would be repeated, adapted, and expanded in numerous subsequent stores in Germany. For an extended formal analysis of the interior of Messel's design for Wertheim, including the building's subsequent phases, see Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur: Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II* (München: Prestel, 1995); Maximilian Rapsilber, *Alfred Messel* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1911); Walter Curt Behrendt, *Alfred Messel* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1911). For more recent assessments, see Robert Habel, *Alfred Messels Wertheimbauten in Berlin: Der Beginn der modernen Architektur in Deutschland* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2008); Elke Blauert and Hans-Dieter Nägelke, *Alfred Messel (1853-1909): Visionär der Großstadt* (München: Edition Minerva, 2009); Artur Gärtner, Robert Habel, and Hans-Dieter Nägelke, *Alfred Messel (1853-1909): Ein Führer zu seinen Bauten* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2010). The latter two publications were produced to coincide with the exhibition *Alfred Messel: Visionär der Großstadt*, organized by the *Kunstbibliothek* in Berlin.

advertising budgets for newspaper announcements and advertising signs.”¹⁴¹ He described, “[The shoppers] go inside, originally as if entering a museum – or better, a palace – in which one only wants to observe and admire. In this way, at first only the space and its appointments make an effect on them.”¹⁴² It is only after the “purely artistic” effects of the stair hall are taken in that the store’s actual goods make an impression on the viewer. Even more precious than the many fashionable objects it housed, the interior of the department store was itself considered a “*Luxusgegenstand*,” an object of luxury.

The department store found its most complete expression as advertising, however, on its exterior surfaces. Starting with Messel’s famous design for the *Leipzigerstrasse* elevation of Wertheim, the façade emerged as a literal display of commodities. Whereas typical commercial buildings contrasted glazed shop windows at street level with traditional historicist “wall architecture” on the floors above, Messel’s design unified the entire exterior surface of the building with large repeating fields of glass inserted into a rhythmic row of thin Gothic-inspired pillars.¹⁴³

The glass façade reached its ultimate development in late-nineteenth century Berlin just down the road at the Tietz department store. **[Fig. 2.20]** Conceived by its owner Hermann Tietz as the central branch of his Berlin business, the building was situated as a pendant to Wertheim on the eastern end of *Leipzigerstraße* at

¹⁴¹ Alfred Wiener, “Geschäftsbauten und Reklame,” in *Die Reklame: ihre Kunst und Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Hermann Paetel, 1914).

¹⁴² Ibid., 100. This was especially evident at Messel’s Wertheim. “One can observe,” Wiener noted, “how important the first glance of the *Lichthof* at Wertheim on Leipzigerplatz is.” Ibid., 101.

¹⁴³ Messel would return to a more “tectonic” conception of architecture in his “*Kopfbau*” addition to the building on Leipzigerplatz, built from 1904-1906. Messel’s contributions to the architecture of Wertheim included three separate phases. The original body of the building dated to 1896-1897, the extensions along Leipzigerstrasse and Voßstrasse to 1899-1900, and the Leipzigerplatz addition to 1904-1906. The architect Ludwig Hoffmann designed a final phase.

Dönhoffsplatz.¹⁴⁴ Beginning in 1899, the entire project was built in eleven months. The rationalized floor plan of the store was designed by the architect L. Lachmann. In its maximization of display space, the plan was similar to the layout of Wertheim. The architect Bernhard Sehring designed the building's grand interior staircase, lighting system, and exterior façades.¹⁴⁵ From the very beginning, the ornate interior *Lichthof* and main façade of Tietz were conceived as an attempt to outdo the novelty of Messel's scheme for Wertheim. One critic proclaimed, "*Tietz will Wertheim, Sehring will Messel übertrumpfen.*"¹⁴⁶

Sehring's façade was dominated by two enormous fields of glass that stretched between a monumental sandstone projection marking the building's main entrance and a pair of side projections that provided secondary entries. Each glazed area measured 85 feet wide by 57 feet high. The front elevation was terminated vertically by an almost ten foot-high sandstone cornice. Thanks to an innovative iron support system, the full weight of the cornice appeared to sit directly on top of the glass windows. Sehring's development of these Neo-Baroque architectural elements was rooted in both practical criteria and artistic motivations. Because of fire concerns, the city's *Baupolizei* limited the amount of glass that could be used on a façade. At the same time, the sculptural program suggested a connection between commerce and

¹⁴⁴ The site for this enormous store was created by clearing a large group of houses dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, as well as the destruction of the popular "*Konzerthaus*" on *Leipzigerstraße*.

¹⁴⁵ Sehring grew up in Dessau as the son of the ducal building officer of Anhalt. After studying at the *Polytechnikum* in Braunschweig from 1873-1875, he attended the *Bauakademie* in Berlin for four semesters. His teachers there included Lucae and Strack. After winning the Schinkel Prize in 1881 and a *Staatspreis* in 1882, Sehring made extensive trips to France and Italy. In Rome, he lived at the Villa Strohlfern, situated above the *Porta del Popolo* and the *Via Flaminia*. His experience in the Rome resulted in a project for a "*deutsche Künstlerheim*," which was exhibited in the form of several renderings at the 1886 exhibition in Berlin and published in numerous professional journals. The project earned him the nickname "the Böcklin of architecture." Sehring's renderings for the Künstlerheim survive and are kept at the archives of the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin.

¹⁴⁶ "Korrespondenzen und kleine Mitteilungen," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 4 (1901): 86.

high art. On top of the building's side projections, large sculptural personifications of trade and industry (sometimes also identified as Hermes, the god of merchants) reclined on bundled-up packages.

The main decorative emphasis on the store's façade was reserved for the 112 feet-high central projection.¹⁴⁷ [Fig. 2.21] At the base of the central risalit, two atlantid figures were positioned in front of a rusticated base that extended to the second floor of the building. One critic described the sculptures as “more gigantic than beautiful.” Four times life-size, the atlantes leaned precariously out into the street. The middle portion of the projection, extending upwards though the line of the building's main cornice, was dominated by a large arched window. In its center, a curved metal railing appeared to extend a semi-circular balcony on the inside of the building through the glass and out into the street. This created an effect of convexity that accentuated the transparent quality of the facade and evoked the undulating surfaces of the historical Baroque. Above the arch of the window, a deeply-carved entablature with cambered pediment and an oversized cartouche inscribed with the name Tietz was supported by two more atlantid figures. Sculptures of four herculean men, representing the four seasons and perhaps also evoking the figures of Bernini's *Fountain of the Four Rivers* in Rome, stood triumphantly on top of the entablature.¹⁴⁸ The entire central projection was topped by a gigantic 14-foot glass globe inscribed with the name Tietz. Sehring's globe was electrically lit at night, serving as a beacon to potential shoppers.

¹⁴⁷ This part of the building incorporated the same kind of monumental Neo-Baroque vocabulary that Sehring developed five years earlier in his design for the *Theater des Westens* in the Charlottenburg section of Berlin.

¹⁴⁸ These works, like the ones on the building's side projections, were created by the sculptor Westphal. The connection to Bernini is suggested by Alarich Roach. See Alarich Roach, *Zwischen Museum und Warenhaus: Ästhetisierungsprozesse und sozial-kommunikative Raumanneignungen des Bürgertums (1823-1920)* (Athena, 2001).

The main attraction at Tietz was the building's expansive glass surface. In the opinion of one visitor, it was "the apotheosis of the shop window."¹⁴⁹ As opposed to the late-Gothic language of the building's rear elevation on *Krausenstraße*, the main façade represented "the luminous face of the modern."¹⁵⁰ It was repeatedly described as the "*Endglied*," or termination point, of a development that led from the simple display window to "a single, imposing *Glashausschauseite*." The surface's large panes of glass were divided almost imperceptibly through a matrix of extremely thin iron mullions.¹⁵¹ Extending through all of the store's floors, this was made possible by a series of load-bearing supports that stood almost seven feet behind the building's front surface. Architects celebrated the façade as the first curtain wall in Berlin.

By driving the logic of the shop window to its most extreme conclusion, Sehring's design represented an apotheosis of the *Kunstform*. While the Neo-Baroque language of the building's stone projections recalled the autonomous manipulation of the surface in the historical Baroque, the project's glass curtain wall illustrated the further separation of surface from structure made possible by modern building materials and construction technologies. In an essay on the department store, the writer Heinrich Pudor likened the Leipzigerstrasse façade of Tietz to the structure of the human body. Just as bones are situated on the inside of the body, covered over by an expressive surface of flesh, the idea of the curtain wall made it possible to displace

¹⁴⁹ Oskar Bie, "Das Waarenhaus," *Neue Deutsche Rundschau* 12 (1901): 96. Other visitors likened Sehring's design to a "gigantic birdcage or a terrarium." See *Brandenburgia* (1900-1901): 275.

¹⁵⁰ Oskar Bie, "Das Waarenhaus," 96.

¹⁵¹ Sehring's glazing system was, in fact, so daring that new regulations further limiting the area of glass allowed on the surface of a building were almost immediately put into effect. Messel's façade at Wertheim, on the other hand, still emphasized tectonic qualities by virtue of granite pillars rising up between display windows and strongly articulated horizontal elements members. For example, in his description of the Wertheim façade, Heinrich Pudor noted, "*Hier sieht man nur zwei Dinge: Fenster und gewaltige, aufragende Pfeiler*." Heinrich Pudor, "Warenhäuser-Architektur," in *Laokoon: kunsttheoretische Essays* (H. Seemann, 1902), 161.

a building's structural supports to the interior.¹⁵² If the exposed Neo-Gothic pillars on the building's *Krausenstraße* elevation functioned "in the same way as a crustacean in nature," the glass surface covering the store's main façade had been emancipated from the responsibilities of load and support.¹⁵³

In a review of Tietz for the journal *Berliner Architekturwelt*, Schliepmann noted that this façade system enabled Sehring to "build a gigantic and striking poster [*"ein grosses und wirkungsvolles Plakat"*] in front of the actual construction."¹⁵⁴ In this way, Tietz also constituted a culminating moment in the development of the modern advertisement. In addition to its extensive use as an image in ambitious (and to some, highly irritating) propaganda campaigns as a logo on signs, flyers, sandwich men, specially-decorated automobiles, and a battery of newspaper advertisements in the city's most popular dailies, the façade itself embodied the compositional principles of the ad.¹⁵⁵ A memorial page in honor of Sehring's 60th birthday noted that the building's façade constituted an "extraordinary escalation" of the advertisement.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Schliepmann noted, "In the construction of department stores... the composition of the façade has essentially become a matter of an

¹⁵² Henrich Pudor, "Warenhäuser-Architektur," 161. In the same way, in an essay for the magazine *Der Architekt*, Pudor suggested with regard to the Tietz façade, "*Aber man ist hier wenigstens schon klug genug gewesen, die eisernen Stützen, wie die Nature bei den höheren Organismen mit den Knochen macht, ins Innere zu verlegen. Das ist ein Vorteil, erstens in ästhetischer Beziehung.*" Heinrich Pudor, "Erziehung zur Eisenarchitektur," *Der Architekt* 9 (1903): 25.

¹⁵³ Henrich Pudor, "Warenhäuser-Architektur," 164.

¹⁵⁴ Schliepmann. "Architektur," 319.

¹⁵⁵ According to the architect and writer Hans Jaretzki, "Having read an advertisement for the department store in a newspaper, someone could immediately recognize it on the street." Hans Jaretzki, "Reklame und Architektur," in *Die Reklame: Ihre Kunst und Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Hermann Paetel, 1914), 131.

¹⁵⁶ "Gedenkblatt zu seinem 60. Geburtstag," *Berliner Architekturwelt* 3 (1916).

advertising display at its greatest scale.”¹⁵⁷ Tietz was, in this way, a “*Haus der Reklame*.”¹⁵⁸

Similar to the newspaper advertiser’s use of eye-catching border motifs, the contrasting aesthetic properties of stone, metal, and glass deployed across the building’s rich Neo-Baroque forms functioned as an artistic frame surrounding the glass windows.¹⁵⁹ In addition, the contrast between the store’s robust risalites and its smooth glass windows served to draw attention to the people and products clearly visible on the inside. This was especially effective at night. Over 10,000 electric bulbs illuminated the entire surface of the structure from within. Schliepmann noted, “In a dimension never before seen in Berlin, electric lighting – especially effective on the interior – is also drawn upon for the purposes of advertising, and here too Tietz trumps its predecessor Wertheim.”¹⁶⁰ The glass portion of the façade allowed viewers on the building’s exterior to see the dresses, textiles, and other products put on display inside.

In addition, spectators could take in the spectacle of shoppers browsing and purchasing items. According to one reviewer, this created a “living advertisement that would be impossible in traditionally-conceived storefronts... Those standing outside see the surging masses in the different departments of the store; they see the mass of merchandise from top to bottom and feel tempted to step inside. In a highly

¹⁵⁷ Schliepmann, “Architektur,” 318. Schliepmann also expressed this idea in “Das Geschäftshaus als Architekturproblem,” *Bauwelt* 3, no. 12 (1912): 10-12.

¹⁵⁸ Schliepmann, “Architektur,” 318. Similarly, Dora Feigenbaum argued that Tietz represented “the ideal type of advertising.” Feigenbaum, “Die Reklame: Ihre Entwicklung und Bedeutung,” 602. For slightly later assessments of the relationship between architecture and advertising, see Hans Hauptmann, “Das Haus als Reklame,” *Bauwelt* 3, no. 2 (1912): 35-36; Cüddow, “Architektur und Reklame,” *Bauwelt*, 1, no. 76 (1910): 5-7.

¹⁵⁹ In his analysis of the building, Pudor described the façade as a “big frame with windows.” Pudor, “Warenhäuser-Architektur,” 164.

¹⁶⁰ Schliepmann. “Architektur,” 319.

sophisticated way, the public itself therefore is used as a means for advertising.”¹⁶¹

Like the *malerisch* decorations of the Baroque façade brought to life, the “surging masses” of shoppers became an integral part of the store’s decorative scheme.

Feigenbaum described this union of architecture and the commodity as an “*Endglied* in the development of modern advertising.”¹⁶² Sehring’s glass façade embodied a process of “*Versachlichung*” (“objectification”) in which “the advertisement ultimately coincides with the object that it serves.”¹⁶³ The façade had become inseparable from the products it displayed.

Feigenbaum also connected the Tietz façade to the aesthetic principles of the *malerisch*. “The pinnacle of economic-technological development,” she argued, “corresponds to the union of painting and architecture.”¹⁶⁴ From its rich Neo-Baroque ornamentation to its advanced glass skin, the architectural language at Tietz embodied the link between modern advertising and the visual strategies of the Baroque. This becomes clear in contemporary accounts of the building’s exterior effects. According to Schliepmann, “In the two glass surfaces, the eye searches in vain for a vertical construction form, and the stone entablature weighs down on the immense stretches of glass in a completely unmediated way.”¹⁶⁵ As several commentators observed, the a-tectonic effects of the Tietz façade induced a sensation of restlessness. Caught between the continuous surface of the windows and the apparent weight of the

¹⁶¹ Jaretzki, “Reklame und Architektur.” 131.

¹⁶² Feigenbaum, “Die Reklame: Ihre Entwicklung und Bedeutung,” 593.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 593.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 602.

¹⁶⁵ Schliepmann. “Architektur,” 319. Similarly, according to Alfred Wiener, “*Sie sind die Augenblicksmittel, die die Aufmerksamkeit und das Interesse des kaufenden Publikums schnell wecken und so eine Ware wohl einführen oder auch immer wieder in Erinnerung bringen können.*” Wiener, “Geschäftsbauten und Reklame.”

entablature, the viewer's eye was not allowed the satisfaction of harmony and rest.

Just as Sehring's design was considered an endpoint in the development of the ad, it could also be taken as a mature expression of the *Reklamewesen* of the Neo-Baroque.

Chapter 3

Cornelius Gurlitt, Paul Wallot, and the Architecture of Individualism

Those who do not sometimes go outside the rules never go beyond them.

Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*¹

In an article published in 1921, Cornelius Gurlitt recounted his first meeting with the architect Paul Wallot in 1887. Gurlitt had just moved from Dresden to the Charlottenburg area of Berlin. His *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* had recently appeared. Having failed in his attempt to find employment in Berlin as an architect, Gurlitt was working as an independent writer, making a living through regular contributions to the journal *Die Gegenwart*. In this capacity, he made an appointment to visit Wallot in his studio in order to learn about the progress of the architect's design for the Reichstag Building. The project was entering its third year of construction.

After viewing drawings for the building in Wallot's office, Gurlitt boldly suggested a number of possible adjustments to the design. "It appeared to me," he recalled, "that the pilasters on the city-side projection of the building, against which the round-arched openings abut, needed a counter-weight – not as a result of the actual lateral compression, but rather for reasons of perception. [*Empfindungsgründen*]."² Surprised by the historian's facility in the area of architectural composition and encouraged by their

¹ Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

² Cornelius Gurlitt, "Erinnerungen an Paul Wallot und den Reichstagsbau," *Stadtbaukunst alter und neuer Zeit* 14 (1921): 209.

shared attention to aesthetic effects, Wallot complimented Gurlitt and incorporated his suggestions into a new sketch for the façade.³ The two quickly became close friends, often enjoying pints of beer together in a quiet corner of the *Spatenbräu* in the Tiergarten or making long visits to Schlüter's Palace.⁴ When Gurlitt's biography of Schlüter appeared in 1891, the dedication read, "To Paul Wallot, the architect of the Reichstag Building, in sincere adoration and with friendly thanks for many useful tips in this book."⁵

This chapter explores the close relationship between Wallot's design for the Reichstag Building and Gurlitt's theories about the Baroque. The ideas of individualism, originality, and perceptual effect that underlay Gurlitt's career-long attempt to establish the anti-Idealist principles of the Baroque were at the same time driving forces behind the artistic strategies of the Wallot office. For both Gurlitt and Wallot, the principles of the Baroque as exemplified in the work of Schlüter provided an alternative to the reemergence of the style in both the royal court and the commercial metropolis. Wallot's work constituted a "*Neubarock*" ("New Baroque") aimed at questioning the validity of historical revivalism itself.

History as Project: Gurlitt's New Baroque

³ "Sie verstehen ja etwas von der Sache!," Gurlitt remembered Wallot telling him. Ibid., 209.

⁴ Gurlitt recalled that the *Spatenbräu* was chosen by Wallot in honor of the Munich architect Gabriel Seidl.

⁵ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1891), title page.

In addition to establishing much of the groundwork on which the field of art history of the Baroque in Germany was built, Gurlitt's writings on the style were directed at pressing issues in contemporary architecture.⁶ His essays and reviews appeared just as often in publications on architecture as in art history journals. His early embrace of the Baroque made him a main spokesman for the revival of the style in German-speaking countries. Gurlitt was a celebrated figure – the “*Barockmann*,” as he was popularly called – amongst architects who sought to incorporate the amplified formal language of the style into their designs.⁷ In an autobiographical essay, Gurlitt recalled that at the end of the 1880's, “The Baroque had become the fashion.”⁸

The precise nature of Gurlitt's connection to the emergence of the Neo-Baroque in Germany has, however, often been misunderstood. Despite the wide popularity of his writings, he greeted the architectural influence of his books with considerable discomfort. In many ways, the success of his work amongst architects belied his own objectives in

⁶ Although later scholars such as Wölfflin, Schmarsow, Riegl, and Brinckmann all criticized the historical accuracy and methodological looseness of Gurlitt's treatment of the Baroque, they also acknowledged his importance in bring art historical attention to the style. For a list of Gurlitt's writings on the Baroque, see the bibliographical appendix in: Jürgen Paul, *Cornelius Gurlitt: Ein Leben für Architektur, Kunstgeschichte, Denkmalpflege und Städtebau*. (Dresden: Hellerau-Verlag, 2003), 137-148.

⁷ In a review of his 1883-89 plate book series entitled *Das Barock und Rococo-Ornament Deutschlands*, for example, the art historian Wilhelm Lübke observed, “In the face of these magnificent pages, the artistic preeminence of the Baroque style and the Rococo emerges in a truly victorious way.” The decorative language illustrated in the book's large photographic plates provided “exemplary models for the decorative arts today.” Wilhelm Lübke, “Architektonische Veröffentlichungen,” in *Altes und Neues. Studien und Kritiken* (Breslau: Schlessische Buchdruckerei, Kunst- und Verlagsanstalt, 1891), 330.

⁸ Corenlus Gurlitt, “Cornelius Gurlitt,” in *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, ed. Johannes Jahn (F. Meiner, 1924), 10-11. In a timeline at the end of his 1899 book on the development of German art and architecture in the nineteenth century, Gurlitt located the beginning of the Baroque revival in 1887, no doubt a reference to the publication in that year of his *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899), 678. In his biography on Gurlitt, Jürgen Paul described, “The subject [of the Baroque] was in the air. Gurlitt filled a pressing desideratum in contemporary art historical concern.” Jürgen Paul, *Cornelius Gurlitt: Ein Leben für Architektur, Kunstgeschichte, Denkmalpflege und Städtebau*, 75.

recovering the reputation of the style. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the Baroque was central to the idea of a *Reklamearchitektur* in Berlin even before Gurlitt's arrival on the scene. His own conception of the style was in many ways directed against the elision of *Stil* and *Mode* expressed in the plans of unscrupulous developers who were rapidly transforming Berlin's streetscapes into billboard-like displays of historical motifs. In an 1892 article for *Die Gegenwart*, for example, Gurlitt described a typical facade on one of the city's busy commercial streets:

One would not believe that I, the historian of this style, would have a prejudice against it. However on that building I see all the motifs that adorn the Berlin Palace, the Würzburg Palace, and a few others all heaped up at a single point: pilasters and columns, ornaments and cartouches, full-figure sculptures and reliefs – a collection of every kind of amplified form.⁹

Later in the article, he argued, “The Baroque has already long suffered from the violation in which its most noble forms are coupled onto apartment buildings and its grand manner

⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Berliner Architektur,” *Die Gegenwart* 2 (1892): 30. It should be noted that in addition to Berlin, Gurlitt's evaluation of the spread of the Neo-Baroque included other growing cities such as Dresden and Munich. In a guide to the architecture of Dresden written in 1898 in honor of the 25th anniversary of King Albert of Saxony's rule, Gurlitt described the sense of competition that emerged amongst architects after the establishment of the new *König-Johann-Strasse*. Firms such as Giese & Weidner, Schubert, Hermann & Martin, Sommerschuh & Rumpelt, Hagenow, and Becher attempted to outdo each other in the creation of ever-richer facade arrangements. One of the most stunning of these buildings, according to Gurlitt, was Schilling and Graebner's “Kaiserpalast”, a commercial building designed “in the richest Baroque style.” Cornelius Gurlitt, “25 Jahre baulicher Entwicklung Dresdens unter König Albert 1873-1898,” in *Führer durch die Festtage und durch die Feststadt Dresden bei der Feier des 70. Geburtstags und 25. Regierungs-Jubiläums Sr. Majestät des Königs Albert von Sachsen* (Dresden: Warnatz & Lehmann, 1898), 26.

of composition frittered away on mass-produced items.”¹⁰ The problem, therefore, was not simply how to recover the reputation of the Baroque from prevailing negative associations, but also how to employ the forms of the style without, as Gurlitt put it, “using them for the purposes of advertising.”¹¹ Instead of a *Neo-Baroque*, with its literal appropriation of formal motifs, its associations with Wilhelm II’s vision for the Prussian Capital, and its intimate connections to the logic of consumerism and the ad hoc appearance of the capitalist metropolis, how could one conceive of a healthy and vigorous *Neubarock*? How, in other words, could an investigation of the Baroque lead to the regeneration of German architecture in the present?

In tracing Gurlitt’s response to these issues, it is important to emphasize that he saw himself first and foremost as an architect. “The basis of all my work,” he declared, “has been one fear and one fear only – namely, of becoming an academic.”¹² This sentiment explains the discomfort that Gurlitt felt when he was asked by Johannes Jahn in the 1920’s to contribute an essay to a collection of autobiographical reflections by prominent art historians. In his piece, Gurlitt questioned whether he belonged in the book at all. “Above all,” he stated, “I consider myself not an art historian, but an architect.”¹³

¹⁰ Gurlitt, “Berliner Architektur,” 30. In reference to the decorative arts, Gurlitt suggested in his 1888 book *Im Bürgerhause*, “The Baroque and Rococo have now made a name for themselves in the applied arts. Prophets have appeared who prize these styles, in contrast to all previous ones, as those of the future. They will be proven correct with respect to the fads of style, but incorrect in terms of the idea that these styles will now rule in a lasting way.” Cornelius Gurlitt, *Im Bürgerhause: Plaudereien über Kunst, Kunstgewerbe und Wohnungs-Ausstattung* (Dresden: Gilbers’sche Königl. Hof-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1888), 85.

¹¹ Gurlitt, “Berliner Architektur,” 30.

¹² Gurlitt, “Cornelius Gurlitt,” 1.

¹³ “Es ist mir nicht ganz klar, ob ich zu Recht in der Reihe dieser Darstellungen des Entwicklungsganges von Kunstwissenschaftlern auftreten darf, denn ich fühle mich in erster Linie nicht als ein solcher, sonder als Architekt.” Gurlitt, “Cornelius Gurlitt,” 1.

From the very beginning of his career, Gurlitt's architectural perspective conditioned his approach to the Baroque.

Following two incomplete efforts at earning an architectural degree, first at the *Bauakademie* in Berlin and then at the *Polytechnikum* in Stuttgart, Gurlitt arrived in Dresden in 1872 in order to take up work in the office of Giese & Weidner.¹⁴ The office is best remembered today for their design of the main train station in Dresden. Gurlitt, however, was tasked with a comparatively understated project. He was responsible for creating designs for various buildings along the course of the newly established *Muldentalbahn* between the towns of Wurzen and Glauchau. The project brought him into the heart of Saxony, where the lectures on German Renaissance architecture by Wilhelm Lübke that he attended during his studies in Stuttgart resonated with the historic buildings he came across on his way from town to town. Alongside the Gothic and German Renaissance buildings that he discovered along the line, Gurlitt was exposed to regional examples of the Baroque.¹⁵ A growing attraction to architectural history, combined with the shortage of employment opportunities in architecture following the “*Gründerkrach*” of 1873, led Gurlitt to contemplate writing a history of architecture in Saxony.

¹⁴ In Berlin, Gurlitt studied under Friedrich Adler. At Stuttgart, his teachers were Christian Friedrich Leins, the philosopher Friedrich Theodor Vischer, and the art historian Wilhelm Lübke. He attended Lübke's classes together with Friedrich Thiersch, whose contribution to the Neo-Baroque in Munich was mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation. For a detailed account of Gurlitt's life, the best source remains: Jürgen Paul, *Cornelius Gurlitt. Ein Leben für Architektur, Kunstgeschichte, Denkmalpflege und Städtebau*. For Gurlitt's art historical recuperation of the Baroque, see Evonne Levy, “Cornelius Gurlitt als ‘Barockmann’,” in *Cornelius Gurlitt (1850 bis 1938): Sechs Jahrzehnte Zeit- und Familiengeschichte in Briefen*, ed. Matthias Lienert (Dresden: Thelem, 2008), 45-54.

¹⁵ Gurlitt reflected, “Mein Wohnsitz war Penig in Sachsen, in der Mitte der Linie. Durch Lübkes Werk über die deutsche Renaissance war mir deren Schönheit aufgegangen. Ich fand sie wieder in den prächtigen Grabdenkmälern der Peniger Stadtkirche, einem stattlichen Werke des endenden 15. Jahrhunderts. Ich sah ferner auf der Strecke Bauten der verschiedensten Stile... Das meiste davon galt damals noch als ‘schlechte’ Gotik, wie man denn auch noch als ‘Moderner’ galt, wenn man Deutschrenaissance sich gefallen ließ. Hinter ihr stand der ‘frivole’, völlig mißachtete ‘Zopf’.” Gurlitt, “Cornelius Gurlitt,” 6-7.

His dedication to the Baroque was spurred on by his appointment at Dresden's recently founded *Königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museum*. Gurlitt's close study of monuments such as Pöppelmann's Zwinger complex and Semper's second *Hoftheater* brought him face to face with the complex history and continuing afterlife of the German Baroque. It was during this time that Gurlitt began to appreciate Dresden's Baroque and Rococo buildings not only as an important part of Germany's architectural heritage but also as an inspiration for design. In one of the earliest statements of its kind, Gurlitt described his newfound attraction to the Baroque in a letter to his brother: "It is, however, not so bad as it is made out to be, and I believe that our architecture can learn *very* much from it."¹⁶

Driven by this kind of programmatic sentiment, Gurlitt spent much of the 1880's traveling throughout Europe in pursuit of the "lessons" of the Baroque. In a 1911 recollection of the genesis of his research, he noted, "I began by wanting to write a history of the Baroque in Saxony and recognized that this would not be possible without an understanding of the German Baroque. I then realized that one could not understand this without knowledge of the Baroque of the neighboring countries. And in this way it pulled me outwards in scope."¹⁷ "Step by step," he reflected elsewhere, "I wanted to go further."¹⁸ Gurlitt's broadening perspective of Germany's place within the international development of the Baroque is reflected in the increasingly ambitious scope of his

¹⁶ "So schlecht, als man ihn jetzt gewohnheitsgemäß macht, ist er aber nicht, und ich denke, unsere Architektur kann sehr viel von ihm lernen." Original emphasis. Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, May 3, 1882 (Brief 032/039), Gurlitt Nachlass, Technische Universität Dresden.

¹⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Zum Wesen des Barock. Eine Auseinandersetzung," *Berliner Architekturwelt* 14 (1911): 40. In his autobiographical essay, he notes, "*Ich began mich eingehender mit dem Dresdner Barock zu beschäftigen. Bald aber sah ich ein, daß man diesen ohne Kenntnis des deutschen Barock nicht zu würdigen vermöge... Schritt für Schritt wollte ich weitergreifen.*" Gurlitt, "Cornelius Gurlitt," 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

publications. After accepting an offer to replace Robert Dohme as the author of a volume on the Baroque for the series *Geschichte der neueren Baukunst*, Gurlitt soon convinced the publisher to expand his contribution to three separate volumes encompassing over 1,400 pages of text. As his travels widened to include not just Italy, but also France, England, and the Netherlands, Gurlitt's focus remained fixed on the role of these countries on the emergence of the German Baroque. From the 1883 compilation *Das Barock/Rococo-Ornament Deutschlands* to the publication in 1889 of *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland*, his ambitious historical program was rooted in uncovering an authentic German architecture from within the cosmopolitan artistic developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe.

Gurlitt's intensive preoccupation with the Baroque revolved around a sense of "individualism" that he found pulsing through the historical Baroque and resurfacing in the work of the most promising contemporary architects. It was during the Baroque period, he claimed, that the "individualism of the people" ("*Volkseigenart*") and "artistic individuality" ("*Künstlereigenart*") pushed architecture away from the strict dictates of Vitruvian rules.¹⁹ For Gurlitt, the style constituted a "modern" approach to architectural form-making. In the introduction to *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, he argued that a dominant trait of the Baroque era in Italy was the "grappling of modern perception with classical form."²⁰ Throughout Gurlitt's writing, this struggle unfolds along a fundamental dichotomy emerging from two approaches to design. "The first," he wrote, "seeks to

¹⁹ Ibid., p175. For a parallel treatment of the notion of "*Eigenart*" in German architecture, see Gustav Ebe. *Deutsche Eigenart in der bildenden Kunst* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1896).

²⁰ "Es ist die Zeit des Ringens der modernen Empfindung mit der klassischen Form." Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887), 4.

surpass the classical and in this way strives to learn a new language for new ideas and to liberate itself from tutelage.”²¹ On the other hand, the second “examines the classical anew in order to enliven architecture and thereby to come to independent creations that comply entirely with the spirit of the classical.”²² While neither direction completely disregards historical models, they nonetheless represent distinct and ultimately antithetical views concerning the appropriate relationship between architecture and tradition.

In *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, Gurlitt illustrated these competing directions through the figures of Michelangelo and Palladio. He explained, “Michelangelo is the titan of the individual will. 'They who copy others', as he calls the copyists of the antique, 'never come to break new ground, and those who cannot create something good out of themselves can make little use of the work of others.'”²³ On the other hand, “Palladio is the master of fundamental inner regularity derived from the study of antiquity. He strives not only after the form, but also after the spirit of the ancients.”²⁴ In a way that mirrored Carl Justi’s description of Winckelmann in the 1860’s, Gurlitt aligned Palladio with “the calm of a soul that is clear in itself and in its ideal.”²⁵

²¹ Ibid., 4.

²² Ibid., 4.

²³ Ibid., 4.

²⁴ Ibid., 4. This distinction is expressed directly in architectural terms. For example, Gurlitt described that whereas Michelangelo conceived of the centralized plan as a path towards originality in church design, Palladio’s attempts to apply the forms of the ancient Greek temple directly to the realm of sacred architecture illustrate an overriding desire to continue the classical tradition unabated. Similarly, Gurlitt maintained that while Michelangelo’s profiles and other details sprang from his own inner conception of architectural expression, Palladio’s formal motifs continued the classical principles of propriety, harmony, and balance.

²⁵ Ibid., 4. With reference to Carl Justi’s description of Winckelmann’s conception of art, Wölfflin argued, “‘Mass und Form, Einfalt und Linienadel, Stille der Seele und sanfte Empfindung, das waren die grossen

Michelangelo, on the other hand, relates to “the struggle and drive of a tempestuously moving and willful mind.”²⁶

Throughout his account, Gurlitt sets the qualities of originality, artistry, fantasy, and feeling that make Michelangelo the father of the Baroque against the rule-bound, academic, and backward-looking principles of Palladian design. He aligned these two artistic directions with a set of corresponding cultural, religious, and political types. In the introduction to *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, he equated the Palladian direction with lawfulness and the predominance of reason. This could be found in Rome under the influence of reform, England, Holland, France under Louis XV, and Germany after the arrival of *Klassizismus*. On the other hand, Michelangelo’s spirit predominated under conditions of fervent piety and where “a bold ‘*Ich*’” challenged social order, rule, and law. This could be found in late-seventeenth century Rome under the influence of the Jesuits, and in both “Protestant and Jesuit” Germany. As opposed to the Palladian direction, which culminates in Germany in the work of Schinkel and his students, the spirit of Michelangelo underlies the resurfacing of the Baroque in the present.

These crosscurrents defined Gurlitt’s career-long preoccupation with the architecture of Schlüter. In Chapter One, we saw how his theories concerning Schlüter’s contribution to the Zeughaus and Palace constituted an attempt to position the Prussian master’s work against the Idealist underpinnings of the Classical tradition in Berlin.

According to Gurlitt, this contrast was clearly illustrated in the events surrounding

Worte seines Kunstevangeliums. Krystallhelles Wasser sein Lieblingssymbol.’ – Man setze das Gegenteil eines jeden dieser Begriffe und man hat das Wesen der neuen Kunst bezeichnet.” Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (München: Theodor Ackermann, 1888), 66.

²⁶ Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, 6.

Schlüter's dismissal as architect of the Royal Palace. The recommendation by a committee made up of Johann Friedrich Eosander von Göthe, Martin Grüneberg, and Leonhard Christoph Sturm to replace Schlüter with a new architect struck Gurlitt as a critical moment in the struggle between fantasy and rule. Gurlitt's analysis of the event revolved around Sturm, who was a mathematician, theorist, and architect based at the University at Wolfenbüttel. At the end of the nineteenth century, Sturm was best remembered for publishing the architectural writings of the mathematician Nicolaus Goldmann. The appearance in 1696 of Goldman's *Vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil-Baukunst*, filled with extensive editorial additions and commentary by Sturm himself, provided one of the earliest comprehensive German-language treatments of the Orders.²⁷ Sturm and Goldmann's goal, as they put it, of combining "the lightness of Vignola, the show of Palladio, and the accurate measurements and fine distribution of Scamozzi" conflicted with the anti-academicism that Gurlitt celebrated in Schlüter.²⁸ Gurlitt characterized the confrontation between Schlüter and Sturm as a "battle between Baroque and Classicism, between *Künstlerthum* and *Gelehrtenthum*." Ultimately, he argued, "The struggle between skill (*Können*) and knowledge (*Wissen*), between school (*Schule*) and

²⁷ The book also attempted to synthesize "Christian" architectural theory with Vitruvian principles through an analysis of Solomon's Temple. Sturm himself tried to reconstruct this building in a publication in 1694. In a second edition of the *Civil-Baukunst*, Sturm argued for the invention of a new, sixth, "German" order that corresponded to Northern character and refuted earlier attempts at creating a "French" order. For an analysis of the theoretical work of both Goldmann and Sturm, see Jörg Biesler, *BauKunstKritik: Deutsche Architekturtheorie im 18. Jahrhundert* (Reimer, 2005).

²⁸ Schlüter was, in fact, a main target in Sturm's writings. See Nicolaus Goldman, *Vollständige Anweisung zu der Civil-Bau-Kunst... vermehret von Leonhard Christoph Sturm* (Wolfenbüttel, 1696). Translation from Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), 177.

fantasy (*Phantasie*), system (*System*) and individuality (*Individualität*) led here as it did in almost the entire world to the victory of classical rule.”²⁹

Gurlitt’s celebration of Schlüter’s “*Individualität*,” together with his more general belief in the connection between Baroque architecture and the “*Eigenart*” of Germans, resonated strongly with the important place of individuality in the writings of German cultural critics during the 1880’s and 1890’s. Under the moniker of individualism, writers in these years established a wide array of associations that stood for the tenuous place of Germanness within the forces modernity. According to Fritz Stern, the notion of *Individualismus* emerged in Germany during the 1840’s through the writings of figures such as Karl Brüggemann.³⁰ Harkening back to Romanticist conceptions of the term, these critics sought to elevate the qualities of uniqueness, originality, and self-realization above quantification and abstraction. At the end of the nineteenth century, the educated middle classes in Germany were often attracted to the writings of Nietzsche and the brand of “aristocratic individualism” espoused by Paul de Lagarde and Julius Langbehn. In an essay on these writers, Gurlitt himself noted, “The trinity of Lagarde, Nietzsche, Langbehn will always retain an importance in the spiritual history of our people and will certainly occupy many astute minds who, in their search for the origin of the individualistic direction of the spirit, find in them a victory in the struggle for freedom against barren academicism.”³¹ Whether conceived as a plea for what Stern has called “the natural man” – a figure standing for the liberation of the self from society and its

²⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1891), 188.

³⁰ See Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1961).

³¹ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Der Rembrandtdeutsche,” *Die Zukunft* 16, no. 18 (February 1, 1908): 379. For a more detailed account of Langbehn’s fraught relation to Nietzsche, see Richard Frank Krummel, *Nietzsche und der deutsche Geist* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998).

conventions – or as a more general argument for the subjective and irrational versus the normative and positivist, the set of oppositions that gave shape to individualism carried a strong attraction in a wide range of cultural spheres, from music and poetry to architecture itself.

One year after the publication of Gurlitt's *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rokoko in Deutschland*, Schlüter appeared in another foundational publication in Germany's rediscovery of the Baroque era. In Julius Langbehn's well known book *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, published anonymously in 1890, Schlüter makes a brief appearance alongside Rembrandt as an example of the superiority of the "Niederdeutsche." In a section of his book devoted to a critique of the "over-academicising" theories of Lessing, Langbehn contended, "Only in this century will Schlüter be praised for his full value."³² This statement was surely related to Gurlitt's own recovery of Schlüter's work.

Gurlitt's research for *Geschichte des Barockstiles* coincided with a period of intensive personal contact with Langbehn. He met Langbehn for the first time while working in Dresden. Langbehn had just arrived in the city and was looking for a sounding board as he developed the ideas that would eventually appear in *Rembrandt als Erzieher*.³³ Langbehn had studied archaeology at the University of Munich and even prepared a doctoral thesis under the direction of Heinrich Brunn. As Suzanne Marchand has described, after being refused a stipend, he turned against the help of supporters such

³² Langbehn used Schlüter as a contrast to the academic theorizing of the writer Lessing. Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1890), 265.

³³ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Der Rembrandtdeutsche," 143.

as Brunn and Mommsen in order to follow a path of “self-cultivation and prophecy.”³⁴ From Gurlitt’s first meeting with Langbehn, he was captivated. In a recollection of their first encounter, Gurlitt noted that the contrast between Langbehn’s “noble teeth, handsome hands, and unmistakably meticulous personal hygiene” and a “black jacket that was... worn and in many places patched” gave Langbehn the appearance of a “Gentleman who had fallen on hard times.” Remembering his father’s financial support of the writer Friedrich Hebbel during the family’s time in Vienna, Gurlitt soon established a special bank account for Langbehn. He also frequently brought Langbehn to his parents’ house, where Gurlitt’s mother plied him with large helpings of *Milchreis*, Langbehn’s favorite dish.

Beyond the general joy of intellectual camaraderie, Gurlitt’s embrace of Langbehn was based on the writer’s articulation of an uncompromising brand of individualism. The opposition to rationalism, academicism, specialization, and mass-culture that ran through Langbehn’s thought resonated strongly with Gurlitt’s own emerging perspective on architecture. In a section entitled “*Individualismus*” at the beginning of *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, Langbehn cited Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s famous declaration that “to have character and be German is without question synonymous.” This relationship, however, had been weakened over the course of time. Recovering the German propensity towards individuality was a central goal of the book. For Langbehn, individualism was a generative root of both art and architecture. Moreover, it was only through artistic creation, as opposed to scientific research, that “the deepest aspect of German nature” could be rekindled.

³⁴ Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 151.

It was easy for Gurlitt to align his story of the growth, death, and the recent reemergence of the Baroque with Langbehn's articulation of the decline and rebirth of the individual. The universal struggles between Michelangelo and Palladio, Schlüter and Sturm, and ultimately, as we shall see, between the *Schinkelschule* and Wallot unfolded according to the same rubric that drove Langbehn's description of the schisms and discontinuities inherent in the subject's encounter with modernity. Langbehn's articulation of the three fundamental "tasks" faced by Germans at the end of the nineteenth century – "first, to individualize their spirit, second, to consolidate it, and third, to monumentalize it" – could be easily translated into Gurlitt's understanding of the Baroque architect's process of design.³⁵

The Architecture of Individualism: Wallot and the Reichstag

In Gurlitt's historical project, the qualities of individualism and originality that marked Schlüter's Baroque were directly expressed in Wallot's architectural language. Gurlitt's introduction to Wallot in 1887 came at an important time for both men. The Reichstag was at a critical stage of development and Gurlitt was at work on both his *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rokoko in Deutschland* and his biography of Schlüter. At the same time that Gurlitt offered Wallot advice on the appearance of his design and the bureaucratic wrangling that plagued its development, Wallot provided Gurlitt with a keen architectural eye in his attempt to isolate Schlüter's contributions to the Palace and an important source of support when his controversial theories about the

³⁵ Ibid.

Palace came under attack.³⁶ Perhaps most importantly, Wallot also provided Gurlitt with direct confirmation that the qualities of originality and individuality crucial to the aesthetic tactics of the Baroque were reemerging in contemporary architecture. “The liberation of architecture,” Gurlitt once proclaimed, “begins with Wallot.”³⁷

An overview of the development of the building helps explain Wallot’s approach to the project.³⁸ In 1872, the Gotha-based architect Ludwig Bohnstedt won the first competition held for a new home for the Reichstag. The Neo-Renaissance style of his entry was in many ways a compromise choice, lying between the classicism of the Berlin school on the one hand and the Neo-Gothic entries of architects like Friedrich Gösling, William Emerson, and George Gilbert Scott on the other.³⁹ Owing in part to problems related to securing the building’s site, a second competition was held in 1882.⁴⁰ Wallot’s

³⁶ For a discussion of these controversies, see Chapter One. In addition to dedicating his book on Schlüter to Wallot, the architect appeared in multiple footnotes. See Cornelius Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, 233, 236. In a personal letter to his brother, Gurlitt acknowledged Wallot’s support: “*Der Schlüter-Artikel hat eine Reihe von Entgegnungen gefunden. Alle sagen dasselbe: Ich habe nämlich ein Quellenwerk übersehen und in zwei Angaben mich geirrt. Darüber fallen sie her. Dass aber alle ihre „Verbesserungen“ die Sachlage auch nicht um das Geringste ändern, dass die Hauptfrage gar nicht dadurch berührt wird, das verschweigen sie sich und ändern. Inzwischen beginnen die Architekten, mir Recht zu geben, leider nur in Briefen. So Wallot, der Erbauer des Reichstages, von der Hude und andere.*” Gurlitt, Letter to Wilhelm Gurlitt, September 9, 1889. *Gurlitt Nachlass, Technische Universität Dresden (Brief 032/062)*.

³⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899), 637.

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of the Reichstag Building competition and the subsequent design, construction, and reception of the building, see Michael S. Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Parlament Denkmal Symbol* (Berlin: bre.bra verlag, 1995); Godehard Hoffmann, *Architektur für die Nation. Der Reichstag und die Staatsbauten des Deutschen Kaiserreichs, 1871-1918* (Köln: Dumont, 2000).

³⁹ For a discussion of debates about style that surrounded the Reichstag competition, see Michael J. Lewis, *The Politics of the German Gothic Revival* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1993).

⁴⁰ Bohnstedt would also submit an entry to the second competition in 1882, which now was limited to architects from German-speaking lands. This time, his design had little impact on the jury, which ultimately awarded two first prizes from a list of leading German and Austrian architects. One was given to Friedrich Thiersch, whose subsequent Baroque-inspired design for the Palace of Justice in Munich was discussed in the first chapter, and the other to Paul Wallot. Apart from Wallot’s entry, which is kept at the Wallot Archive at the *Kunstbibliothek* in Berlin, many of the 1882 competition entries are held at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin. Designs in this collection include those by Ebe

winning entry was based on an extended square plan pierced by four rectangular courtyards. [Fig. 3.1, 3.2] The main entry of the building, to be used primarily for ceremonial purposes, opened onto the wide expanse of *Königsplatz*. The programmatic center point of the plan was the building's assembly hall. This space was to be located at the top of a monumental set of stairs placed on axis with the main entryway. Harkening back to the *Treppenhäuser* of German Baroque Palaces and the more recent example of Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra, the staircase was almost the size of the assembly hall itself.

On the exterior, the front façade of Wallot's design constituted an amplified version of Bohnstedt's entry for the first competition. A richly decorated central projection and a pair of massive flanking towers projected from the façade. The rest of the elevation was divided vertically into two sections. On top of a heavily rusticated base, a series of arcuated window openings topped by triangular pediments was divided by a long row of single-story pilasters. The entire structure was to be crowned with a dramatic dome situated directly above the assembly hall. In Wallot's competition renderings, the dome's iron and glass surface sits on top of a tall, square-shaped base marked by a triumphal arch motif on each side.

Wallot was almost immediately forced to overhaul his winning design. It would, in fact, be over two years from the announcement of his victory in the competition to the ground stone ceremony. After a trip through England and France for the purpose of studying other examples of parliament buildings, Wallot set up an office in the provisional home for the Reichstag established in 1871 on *Leipzigerstrasse* after a design

& Benda, Cremer & Wölffenstein, Heinrich von Ferstel, Kyllmann & Heyden, Constantin Lipsius, and Bernhard Sehring.

by Friedrich Hitzig. Wallot and a staff of handpicked young architects from across Germany went about revising the competition entry. After passing through the Reichstag Building Commission, the Office of the Interior, and the office of the President of the Reichstag, Wallot's plans went before an evaluation committee set up by the *Akademie des Bauwesens*. As was widely reported in the press, this committee requested several major changes to the design. Their main arguments revolved around the location of the building's central assembly hall. The hall's location ten meters above entry level, connected to the ground by sixty steps, struck the committee as both unnecessarily monumental and physically prohibitive. In addition, a majority of the committee was of the opinion that the hall would not receive sufficient lighting from Wallot's dome. As a result, they recommended the construction of a half-size model of the structure. This would allow a scientist to observe the fall of light in the room under different conditions.

In response to these and many other demands by the Reichstag's building bureaucracy, Wallot's final design showed several major changes. **[Figs. 3.3, 3.4]** Following significant revisions in 1883 and 1884, the assembly hall was ultimately located at ground level in the center of the plan. Eliminating the *Treppenhaus*, Wallot reduced the internal courtyards from four to two and inserted a new monumental hall in the center of the building's main axis. Two expansive foyers were situated on either side of this space.⁴¹

⁴¹ Although the robust masonry piers that appear in the building's plan around the central space of the hall would seem to indicate the presence of a weighty dome, the location of Wallot's iconic iron and glass cupula was directly above the assembly hall. All of this redundant masonry was the result of Wallot's hard-fought battle against the Reichstag Building Commission and the Akademie des Bauwesens, who argued until the very last minute that the building's dome should be moved atop the hall towards the front of the structure instead of its original – and ultimate – location above the assembly hall.

As a result of these radical changes to the interior, Wallot also transformed the exterior in significant ways. The corner towers survived from the original entry, but were now given an even more robust appearance. They were enhanced by the introduction of a giant Corinthian order recalling the work of Michelangelo and Schlüter himself at the nearby Palace.⁴² The columns continued a line of giant pilasters strung across the main body of the façade. At the center of the main elevation, a richly decorated central portico rose from a rusticated base and monumental staircase, punctuating the otherwise flat Silesian sandstone of the building's surface. This feature was outfitted with six freestanding columns and was crowned by a large pediment and two pinnacles that reached above the horizontal line of the Reichstag's massive cornice. The entire structure was topped by Wallot's flat gilt iron and glass dome, now without the monumental stone base of previous designs. **[Fig. 3.5]**

The building's more robust final design left a strong impression on critics. The art historian Fritz Burger observed, "Schinkel is an ascetic compared to Wallot, and Semper appears dry and philistine next to him."⁴³ The scale, weight, and profuse ornamentation of Wallot's design struck some commentators as an unfortunate result of the building's long and conflict-ridden planning process. Just after the completion of construction, the Viennese art historian Karl von Lützow wrote a scathing review of the building for the

⁴² Critics frequently boasted that the new double-height columns were only surpassed in size by St. Peter's in Rome.

⁴³ Burger continued, "Über der stofflichen Pracht der Säulen, Gesimse wird daher der ganze Bau zu einer schwer über dem Boden lagernden Masse, deren ermüdend eintönige Fassadengliederung in eine übersättigte, substanziell träge Pracht sich verfilzt." Fritz Burger, *Einführung in die Moderne Kunst* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1917), 118.

Neue freie Presse.⁴⁴ He proclaimed that the “colossal building... is an entirely failed creation (*eine völlig verunglückte Schöpfung*).”⁴⁵ He continued, “Lumbering towers are raised up at the four corners, thought of in roughly the same way as Hansen’s Heinrichshof in Vienna, but not even remotely comparable to that building in terms of architectonic organization and design.”⁴⁶ With its “plump columns,” “monstrous gargoyles,” and “heavy, terse, and profusely formed sculptural program,” Wallot’s design showed an “alarming insensitiveness and ungainliness.”⁴⁷

Lützow’s assessment caused a great stir in the Berlin architectural community. Hermann Muthesius, a young member of Wallot’s office during the construction of the building, wrote an immediate response to the review in the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*.⁴⁸ At the end of a long analysis of Lützow’s comments, Muthesius accused the professor of being out of touch with new developments in architecture: “Do not his explanations give the impression that he had slept gently for twenty years and now all of a sudden awoke, completely unable to understand the present?”⁴⁹ A similar sentiment emerged at the grand celebration held in honor of the building’s completion on December 7, 1894.⁵⁰ One of the main highlights of the evening was a satirical theatrical

⁴⁴ Karl von Lützow, “Aus Norddeutschland.” *Neue freie Presse* (October 2, 1894). Lützow was a professor at the *Akademie der Künste* and editor of the influential journal *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Lützow is referring to an apartment building by the architect Theophil Hansen’s in Vienna.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Muthesius would remain a staunch supporter of Wallot’s approach to design throughout his career.

⁴⁹ Hermann Muthesius, “Das Urtheil eines Wiener Kunstgelehrten über das deutsche Reichstagsgebäude.” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 41 (October 13, 1894): 440.

⁵⁰ The event was organized by the Vereinigung Berliner Architekten, the Verein Berliner Künstler, and the Verband deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieurvereine. Bringing together over 600 artists, architects,

production in which the character of Lützow brought charges against Wallot in the form of a “*Vemgericht*,” or traditional Westphalian tribunal court. In the program for this “*Wallotria in nur einem Acte*,” the president of the court is listed as Michelangelo himself.⁵¹ [Fig. 3.6] After the performance, a large edible reproduction of the main façade of the Reichstag was unveiled. The model’s rustication was made from brown bread, the main floors from white bread, the architrave and main cornice from Swiss cheese, and the cupola out of a glass cheese dome. Sitting directly below an inscription on the model’s portico that read “The Pinnacle of Taste”, the building’s columns were made from a series of vertically-placed *Wiener Würstchen* – a direct reference to Lützow.

The qualities of Wallot’s design that Lützow found plump and ungainly led other art historians to connect it directly to the Baroque. In a 1911 lecture course on the development of art and architecture in the nineteenth century, Heinrich Wölfflin described Wallot’s creation as: “Masses and the movement of masses; like dough formed with gigantic hands... Plump, viscous, strongly agitated, however with strong rhythms produced within.”⁵² He declared that the building “leaps decisively into the Baroque. (*entschiedenes in den Barock hineinspringen*)”⁵³ Not surprisingly, the most extended

engineers, and other members of Berlin’s creative community, the party took place in the *Kroll-Oper*, which looked directly onto the completed Reichstag Building lit up at night.

⁵¹ The program is preserved today at the Wallot archive at the *Kunstbibliothek* in Berlin.

⁵² “Die Parole ist: Masse und Massenbewegung; wie mit gigantischen Haenden der Teig geformt, so dass ganze Stockwerkfolgen nur wie ein Motiv wirken. Dickes, Zaehe, Schwerbewegtes, doch grosse Rhythmen darin hergestellt; dazu ganz frappante Eckstreben.” Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichte Des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Akademische Vorlesung aus dem Archiv des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universitaet Wien (Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1994), 126.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p126. Connections to the Baroque could be traced all the way through to Henry-Russell Hitchcock’s characterization of the Reichstag Building’s forms as an “overwhelmingly monumental Neo-Baroque” or to Valentin Hammerschmidt’s more recent description of Wallot’s “*barockisierenden Tendenzen*.” See Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Penguin Books, 1958), 224; Valentin W. Hammerschmidt, *Anspruch und Ausdruck in der Architektur des späten Historicismus in Deutschland (1860-1914)* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang), 338.

examination of Wallot's connection to the Baroque came from Gurlitt. He believed that Wallot's final design was far from compromised. Instead, it was a clear sign of the architect's artistic maturation. Gurlitt characterized Wallot's initial competition entry as a "competent work with a happy sense for the separation of space and for the effect of masses."⁵⁴ The Renaissance style of the composition, however, did not reveal much in the way of individuality.⁵⁵ According to Gurlitt, it was conceived entirely "in the spirit of Semper's students."⁵⁶ In the built version of the design, he celebrated the "expanded, full, and luscious handling of architecture" that endowed the Reichstag with its unmistakable aesthetic impact. Gurlitt argued, "As time went on, Wallot's architecture became ever heftier, powerful, teeming."⁵⁷ As a culmination of the architect's "special sense for plastic and painterly effect," it also signified the emergence of a new Baroque.

Gurlitt's analysis of the building occurred in the first edition of *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, at the beginning of a pivotal section of the book entitled "*Die Kunst aus Eigenem*." Translatable as either "Art out of Oneself" or "The Art of Individualists," the chapter traced the beginning of architecture's "*Befreiung*" ("liberation") from the shackles of revivalism. Gurlitt celebrated, "Finally architecture separated itself from the stylistic ground rules to which its entire essence had been tied."⁵⁸ Wallot's approach to composition made use of old forms "in such a manner that

⁵⁴ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 638.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 638. Gurlitt noted, "Betrachtet man Wallots ersten Entwurf auf den selbständigen Gedankeninhalt, namentlich hinsichtlich der Formen, so wird man nicht eben sehr viel Eigenes an ihm finden." *Ibid.*, 638.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 638.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 641.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 638.

in many ways something entirely new is developed.” Like Schlüter before him, Wallot was “on the way to finding entirely new, uniquely German forms of art.”⁵⁹

In Gurlitt’s descriptions, Wallot’s connection to Schlüter could be seen on a number of different levels. This began with the two architects’ biographies. Although Schlüter and Wallot saw the completion of their most important projects in Berlin, they were ultimately each outsiders to the Prussian *Hauptstadt*. Schlüter was born in Hamburg and trained in Danzig, well beyond the center of Prussian political power.⁶⁰ For Gurlitt, the distinct artistic spirit that went along with this geographical distance was a central ingredient in Schlüter’s ousting from the position of *Schlossbaudirektor*.

Wallot’s biography was also the tale of a foreigner to the architectural culture of Berlin. As Gurlitt emphasized on multiple occasions, Wallot’s personal background and professional development ran counter to the prevailing tradition of the *Schinkelschule* in the city. Wallot was born in 1841 in the Rhineland town of Oppenheim to a family with Huguenot roots in southern France. After time spent at the *Höhere Gerwerbeschule* in Darmstadt and at the *Technische Hochschule* in Hanover, where he studied under the Neo-Gothic architect Conrad Wilhelm Hase, Wallot traveled to Berlin in 1861 in order to attend the *Bauakademie*. Like Gurlitt, he left the school without finishing his degree.

Wallot transferred instead to Gießen in order to finish his studies with the architect Hugo

⁵⁹ “...daß Wallot auf dem Wege sei, ganz neu, eigenartig deutsche Kunstformen zu finden.” Ibid., 663.

⁶⁰ In his book *Berlin – Ein Stadtchicksal*, Karl Scheffler claimed that Berlin did not, in fact, have the right to call Schlüter one of its own. “Schlüter came from afar,” he insisted, “from *Niederdeutschland*, in the *Mark*, and his art remains foreign in Berlin up to the present day.” Karl Scheffler, *Berlin – Ein Stadtchicksal* (E. Reiss, 1910), 64. In his book *Der Preussische Stil* (1953), the cultural critic Arthur van den Bruck declared, “Schlüter himself was a Roman in Germany.” “He remained a *Barocker*,” van den Bruck insisted. “He painted with spaces, built in the air, created form out of intuitions, and was in this way entirely German – not Prussian.” Arthur Moeller van den Bruck. *Der Preussische Stil* (München: Wilh. Gottl. Korn, 1953), 67.

von Ritgen. He returned to Berlin in 1864 to work on various projects in the offices of Lucae, Hitzig, and Gropius & Schmieden. Following his trip through Italy in 1872, Wallot opened his own office in Frankfurt.

According to Gurlitt, this was where Wallot's artistic taste truly began to coalesce. He noted that Frankfurt played host in the 1870's to a general feeling of insubordination against the Idealist principles of eternal rules and pure beauty that had reigned over Germany since the turn of the nineteenth century. Starting with the architect Rudolf Heinrich Burnitz and later including Lucae and Friedrich Thiersch, the city welcomed a freer interpretation of historical models.⁶¹ "In Frankfurt," Gurlitt described, "one was still or already '*zopfig*' – that is to say, one was not afraid there of employing forms that had not been 'cleaned' by the spirit of style."⁶²

In the same way that Schlüter's individualist approach to design proved antithetical to the traditional sobriety of Dutch- and French-inspired architecture in Berlin, Wallot's triumph in the Reichstag competition represented a rejection of the *Schinkelschule*. According to Gurlitt, Wallot's design signified "a victory of the expanded, full, luscious treatment of architecture that was native in the south of Germany."⁶³ This "southern-German, full-of-life spirit" made Wallot feel foreign to the

⁶¹ Burnitz was a student of Friedrich August Stüler and Heinrich Hübsch.

⁶² This same approach to tradition was visible in the series of apartment buildings that Wallot executed while in Frankfurt. They included a rich mixture of international Neo-Renaissance and German Renaissance styles. After the death of Lucae in 1872, Wallot completed his former mentor's project for an opera house in Frankfurt. Wallot's renderings for the Frankfurt train station project are held at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin.

⁶³ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 638.

“intellectual manner of the *Tektoniker*.”⁶⁴ Echoing his description of Schlüter’s conflict with Sturm, Gurlitt claimed that the richness of Wallot’s artistic language was a major reason for his difficult experience throughout the building’s planning phases. He recounted that the changes to Wallot’s design requested by the *Akademie des Bauwesens* were not related to programmatic issues alone. Instead, they demanded that Wallot rework his facades in order to reflect a more “noble and dignified simplicity” (“*edlen und würdigen Einfachheit*”).⁶⁵ The committee, which included Schinkel students including Friedrich Adler, implored Wallot to avoid “all arbitrary and exaggerated compositions.”⁶⁶ This call for “pure monumentality” directly conflicted with Wallot’s approach to design. Again recalling Schlüter, Gurlitt suggested that the contrast between Wallot’s design and Berlin’s existing architectural culture was a major factor in his acceptance in 1894 of Gurlitt’s offer to leave Berlin for a professorship in Dresden.

At the same time, Schlüter and Wallot’s connection to the individualist principles of the Baroque made them perfectly suited for their respective commissions. In their designs for the Palace and Reichstag Building, both architects were faced with the task of creating an architectural language representative of the unification of disparate cultural and political constituencies. According to Gurlitt, the Palace was a potent symbol not only of the legacy of Prussian power but also of the emergence of modern Germany in

⁶⁴ This issue of cultural geography was emphasized, although not always positively, by numerous commentators before and after the construction of the Reichstag Building. In a commentary reminiscent of van den Bruck’s description of Schlüter, the critic Heinrich Pudor argued at the turn of the twentieth century that Wallot’s “southern-Roman Baroque style,” which was responsible for what he called the “Catholic impression” given by the Reichstag Building, was in direct conflict with the historically Protestant identity of the Prussian capital. In *Laokoon: Kunsttheoretische Essays* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902), 167.

⁶⁵ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 605.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 605.

the aftermath of the Thirty Years War.⁶⁷ Evonne Levy has argued that Gurlitt's description of Schlüter's transformation of the Palace mirrored the relationship articulated by historians and political theorists such as Heinrich von Treitschke between the individual and State in the heterogeneous political and religious fabric of Germany during the Counter-Reformation.⁶⁸ In his argument for Schlüter's singular reworking of Italian precedents at the Palace, which involved the emphasis of parts within a unified composition, Gurlitt crafted a vision of the Baroque that resonated with the historical interplay of individual freedom and the power of the State in Germany.

This approach could be extended to Gurlitt's description of the Reichstag as well. The building was envisioned from the beginning as a symbol of national unity. Wallot's goal in the project was no less than developing a representative "*Reichstil*" for Germany. In the German context, however, the concept of unity was still a matter of great debate. In addition, the competition for the project arose at a time when the very idea of a single national style for Germany had become increasingly problematic. In a letter to Friedrich Bluntschli, Wallot complained that the commission called for a monument to the German nation at a time when Germany itself could claim no deeply engrained and organically derived building style of its own. "We are constructing a national building," he remarked, "without having a national style."⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Schlüter's decisive role in giving architectural expression to the elevation of Brandenburg-Prussia to a kingdom in 1701 was discussed in the Chapter 1 in relation to Frederick I's ambitious architectural patronage.

⁶⁸ Related in conversations with Evonne Levy.

⁶⁹ Paul Wallot to Friedrich Bluntschli, May 19, 1890, gta Archiv, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (FA 45). Quoted in Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes* (Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983).

In both its iconography and its more general distribution of forms, Wallot's design articulated the complex interplay of part and whole that characterized the German Empire itself. The building's iconographical program expressed the complex political make-up of the Reichstag and its delicate position in relation to the King. Wallot mixed typical Wilhelmine motifs filled with militaristic and royal allusions with symbolic representations of Germany's various historical provinces.

As installed on the building, the imperial themes began with a royal crown placed at the top of the dome's lantern. In addition, Wallot inserted a relief sculpture of the German *Adler* wearing a royal crown above the main entrance. A sculpture of Germania designed by Begas was placed on top of the *Königsplatz* portico and an imperial crest was included in the pediment of the western portico. Wallot also installed an equestrian statue depicting St. George slaying a dragon – inscribed with the face of Otto von Bismarck – on top of the building's western portico.

At the same time, a profusion of relief sculptures based on heraldic imagery spoke to the heterogeneous construction of the German Empire. A series of coats of arms in the main portico of the building represented Germany's federal states. These were installed against a backdrop of elaborately carved oak and pine trees placed above personifications of the Rhein and Vistula rivers. The crests of important German cities were placed above the main windows on the west side of the building.

Heraldic themes continued inside the Reichstag Building. Large and ornately decorated portals situated to the east and west of the main entrance symbolized Prussia and Bavaria, the two largest constituencies of the Empire. The artistic handling of each portal was carefully calibrated to the region it represented. **[Fig. 3.7]** In a review of the

completed building, Georg Buss noted, “The Prussian portal is severe and measured while the Bavarian portal is perceived as milder and softer: here the warm spirit of art and science is accentuated, there the colder spirit of the reason of state (*Staatsraison*) and of military power.”⁷⁰

Beyond Wallot’s complex iconographic program, however, the building’s contrasting architectural forms expressed a system of part and whole. Gurlitt maintained, “The most crucial aspect of the Reichstag Building is the treatment of the parts.”⁷¹ Throughout the project’s many preparatory phases, Wallot’s design emphasized the contrast between the building’s massive projecting volumes and the comparatively flat sandstone surfaces connecting them. **[Figs. 3.8, 3.9]** According to Gurlitt, rather than seek architectural richness in “an abundance of minutia” (including “the accumulation of scrolls and cartouches” and “the sculptural coating of all surfaces”), Wallot juxtaposed unadorned planes and areas of decorative richness in order to heighten the unified effect of the whole.⁷² This approach also guided Wallot’s design of the building’s interior. According to Gurlitt, he “searched for the most important point in the room, to which the eye unconsciously directed itself, and embellished the surroundings from here outwards: not through the regular braiding of forms, but through the decisive accentuation of important forms and through a sure control of surfaces.”⁷³ In this “new rule of ornamental arrangement”, Wallot made the important discovery that the undecorated wall had an “architectural importance” in and of itself. Gurlitt’s portrayal of Wallot’s treatment of

⁷⁰ Georg Buss, “Das Haus des Deutschen Reichstages,” *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 6 (1895): 91.

⁷¹ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 640.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 640.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 640.

parts at the Reichstag resonated strongly with his contemporaneous description of Schlüter's system of projections, contrasts, and formal unity at the Palace.

Rather than replicate the forms of Schlüter's Palace, Wallot attempted to revive the underlying design approach that led to them. This, for Gurlitt, was what connected Wallot to the individualism of the Baroque. Drawings of numerous Baroque monuments in Wallot's sketchbooks attest to his fascination with the style. Nevertheless, he rejected any idea of direct borrowing. This can be clearly seen in a comparison of Wallot's project with the sculptor Reinhold Begas's entry for the 1882 Reichstag competition. **[Fig. 3.10]** Similar to his appropriation of the language of Bernini and Schlüter in his sculptures, Begas envisioned the new building in the tradition of the nearby Charlottenburg Palace. Wallot's design, on the other hand, had a much more ambiguous connection to historical precedents. As noted in contemporary reviews, the building combined Palladian motifs with a vertical emphasis inspired by Gothic architecture.⁷⁴ Tilmann Buddensieg has argued that Wallot's "Renaissance-Baroque" language was not meant to emphasize single architectural traditions, but rather the "combined Italian roots of post-Medieval classical architecture."⁷⁵ In a letter to Bluntschli, Wallot himself argued, "The forms of the so-called Renaissance have been sent into ruin and the modern hunt through all preceding centuries, with its poverty, superficiality, and falsehoods is an atrocity!!!"⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Wallot's sketchbooks contain several drawings of buildings by Palladio and Sanmicheli from his trip to Italy in 1872.

⁷⁵ Tilmann Buddensieg, "Paul Wallots Reichstag: Rätsel und Antworten seiner Formensprache," In: *Berliner Labyrinth, neu besichtigt: Von Schinkels Unter den Linden bis Fosters Reichstagskuppel* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1999), 88. Beyond even the period of the Renaissance and Baroque, Buddensieg noted resemblances to buildings as far afield as the Bacchus Temple at Baalbeck and as recent as Charles Garnier's Paris Opera Building or an 1856 *Grand Prix* project by Léon Vaudoyer. See *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁷⁶ Paul Wallot. Letter to Friedrich Bluntschli, 19 May 1890. Quoted in Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes* (Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983).

If Wallot's design was "Baroque," it was certainly not in the Neo-Baroque sense of Julian Raschdorff's *Dom* or Ernst von Ihne's museum at the opposite end of *Unter den Linden*. In fact, Wallot insisted on multiple occasions that directly copying Schlüter's forms would come across as overly "Prussian." This would be inappropriate for a building representative of Germany's full political texture. Not surprisingly, this aspect of Wallot's individualism did not find a welcome audience in Wilhelm II. As Gurlitt described in numerous places, Wilhelm perceived the building as a direct challenge to his own architectural self-representation at the cathedral, museum, and Palace.⁷⁷ He was particularly upset that Wallot's beacon-like dome was taller than Stüler's dome over the Eosander wing of the Palace. More than an issue of height, the monumentality of Wallot's design was symbolic of the ascendancy of the political institution of the Reichstag itself. At a reception in honor of the silver wedding anniversary of King Umberto of Italy held at the Palazzo Cassarelli in Rome in 1893, Wilhelm derided Wallot's design as the "pinnacle of tastelessness" ("*Gipfel der Geschmacklosigkeit*").⁷⁸ At the same time that it reflected the Kaiser's unease at the symbolic implications of the parliament's new "palace," Wilhelm's outburst indicated the displacement of the Neo-Baroque language of the *Spreeinsel* by Wallot's *Neubarock*. If Ihne was the "modern Schlüter," then Wallot had become the Schlüter of modern Germany.

⁷⁷ These issues were an important subtext in the increasing tension between Wilhelm II and Wallot that emerged in the period following the "*Dreikaiserjahr*" in 1888. Already in November 1889, Wallot earned the disfavor of the king during a meeting at the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam. Wilhelm's efforts to influence the design of the Reichstag Building in the same way that he guided the museum and cathedral ("*Sohn*," he told Wallot, "*das machen wir so!*") were rejected by the architect out of hand. "*Majestät*," he curtly replied to the Kaiser, "*das geht nicht!*" Quoted in Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes* (Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), 134.

⁷⁸ On another occasion, he attributed the look of the building's dome to a "*Reichsaffenhaus*" ("Monkey House of the Empire").

An Architecture of Effects

At the same time that it fulfilled representational requirements, Wallot's decorative program at the Reichstag indicated an underlying approach to form. In his research for the building's decorations, Wallot spent hours pouring over the details of historical coats of arms in the archives of the Berlin *Heroldsamt*. Despite such painstaking research, experts heavily criticized his inaccurate and overly creative use of heraldic imagery. As the decoration of the Reichstag was nearing completion, a small booklet on the building's ornaments and inscriptions caused a considerable stir amongst heraldry connoisseurs and even parliamentarians themselves.⁷⁹ Its author H. Ahrens complained that the building displayed a lamentable "unclarity of architectural thought." This was due primarily to Wallot's attempt to "express himself in the hieroglyphic writing of heraldry without having any familiarity with it."⁸⁰ Wallot's deployment of heraldic themes throughout the building violated principles of historical accuracy and expressive clarity.

The *Deutsche Bauzeitung* soon published a response to Ahrens' critique by reprinting a lecture on Wallot's use of coats of arms.⁸¹ "The actual errors," the lecturer noted, "that Wallot unfortunately allowed to slip in have become daily bread on the tables

⁷⁹ See H. Ahrens, "Das deutsche Reichstagshaus in seinem heraldischen Schmucke und seinen Inschriften," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappenkunde* 23 (1895): 461.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁸¹ Delivered in 1899 for the Hannover Architecture and Engineering Association, the lecture was entitled "Die Heraldik im Dienste der modernen Dekoration und ihre Weiterentwicklung – mit Bezug auf das Reichstagsgebäude." It was originally published in "Mittheilungen aus Vereinen," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 47 (1899): 300-302.

of heraldry experts.”⁸² This was especially unfortunate, he argued, since the so-called “rules” violated in Wallot’s design had in fact often been the subject of considerable creative license over the course of time. Old masters such as Dürer and Cranach who were fundamental to the development of these decorative devices manipulated heraldic imagery just as freely as Wallot. Rather than a “finished handbook,” coats of arms and other similar motives were the subject of continual manipulation. Their power lay precisely in their potential as a source for artistic imagination. This was the stance of Wallot himself. In numerous places, he demanded that the aesthetic effect of his decorations was more important than their historical accuracy or direct symbolic connections. In an 1891 lecture for the *Berliner Kunstverein*, Wallot proclaimed that his interest in coats of arms was related to their potential as pure “*Schmuckmittel*.”⁸³ Decorum and meaning were sacrificed in the name of greater visual effect.

The connection between ornament and imagination in Wallot’s work can be seen in his interest in the decorations of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Although the strong similarity between the system of formal contrasts at the Reichstag Building and the crisp forms of Piranesi’s architecture on the façade of Santa Maria del Priorato in Rome remains at the level of speculation, Wallot’s attention to Piranesi is evident in his sketchbooks. In a sketchbook from the 1880’s, two decorative fragments by Piranesi appear next to a series of quick studies for the layout of the Reichstag Building.⁸⁴ **[Figs. 3.11, 3.12]** The first drawing depicts a capital with confronted sphinxes. The second

⁸² Ibid., 302.

⁸³ See *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 7, no. 3 (1891).

⁸⁴ The sketchbooks are housed in the Wallot *Nachlass* the *Kunstabibliothek* in Berlin.

illustrates the interconnecting patterns of an Etruscan frieze fragment. A note written next to one of the two drawings indicates that both derive from the 1888 book *Opera scelte di G.B. Piranesi*, published by Lehmann just as Wallot was formulating the decorative program of the Reichstag Building.

The first motif appears on more than one occasion in Piranesi's oeuvre. Wallot's drawing closely resembles two small preparatory sketches by Piranesi that are held today in the Morgan Library in New York. Executed in red chalk, the drawings were made as records of sphinx capitals that Piranesi encountered in the collections of both the Borghese family and the architect Robert Adam.⁸⁵ The same sphinx capital appears as a key reference in Piranesi's theoretical essay entitled "An Apologetical Essay in defense of the Egyptian and Tuscan Architecture," published in the 1769 book *Diverse Maniere*. For Piranesi, the feathered sphinx and other devices such as scarabs and reliefs provided a glimpse into the historical roots of artistic originality. Piranesi noted, "Let the two winged sphinxes which are upon them [the capitals] be observed, and let the majestic feathers of their wings be considered, which besides being extended horizontally, and disposed like the reeds of the sheppard's pipe, are likewise turned up, and bent contrary to nature, to make an agreeable contrast with the Ionic volutes of these two capitals which are twisted downwards."⁸⁶ By bending the rules of nature, the sphinx wings exemplified Piranesi's more general interest in originality and calibrated perceptual effects.

⁸⁵ These sketches served as models for an etching of a capital in plate XIII of *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani*, originally published in 1761.

⁸⁶ Quoted in John Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi as Architect and Designer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 55.

Wallot's sketches of the Etruscan frieze fragment were based on the third plate of Piranesi's essay "On the Introduction and Progress of the Fine Arts in Europe in Ancient Designs." [Fig. 3.13] This was one of three essays that made up the contents of the 1765 *Osservazione*. In this book, Piranesi argued for the originality of Roman architectural traditions, as well as the importance of artistic license in architectural and decorative design. The book itself was prepared as a response to a critical 1764 letter published by the collector Pierre-Jean Mariette in the *Gazette littéraire de l'Europe* concerning the polemics of Piranesi's *Della magnificenza*. Stemming from his belief in the "*belle et noble simplicité*" of ancient Greek architecture, Mariette argued that the Etruscans were originally Greek colonists, that all Roman art eventually had its roots in Greece, and that Roman artists had debased Greek taste. Piranesi's reply to Mariette came in the form of a point-by-point repudiation of the Frenchman's letter, as well as in the *Parere su l'architettura*. This theoretical essay once again fought for the place of originality and imagination in design. Piranesi's *Parere* took the form of a dialogue between two architects on the subject of ornamentation.⁸⁷ The character Protopiro reflects the ideals of Laugier and the pro-Greek argument of Mariette while Didascalo campaigns for the artistic liberty of architects such as Borromini, Bernini, and Piranesi himself. Didascalo fights for the place of freedom and individuality in design.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ In this way, it recalled the Scottish painter Allan Ramsay's 1755 "Dialogue on Taste" for the publication *The Investigator*.

⁸⁸ It is important to note, in this respect, that Mariette's letter came at a time in Piranesi's career when real opportunities in the area of architecture and set design allowed him to shift his theoretical arguments into the practical language of construction. As scholars such as John Wilton-Ely have pointed out, this also corresponded with Piranesi's increasing preoccupation with Baroque precedents. In 1764, just as he was formulating his retorte to Mariette, Piranesi received a commission from the Pope to design a monumental tribune with papal altar as a termination to the nave at San Giovanni in Laterano, originally designed by Borromini.

In an imaginary architectural dialogue published by Gurlitt in an 1889 issue of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, Piranesi's argument for originality in the *Parere* was reset in the midst of the modern cityscape. Entitled "*Alte Formen – Neuer Stil!*," Gurlitt's text resonated strongly with his articulation of Wallot's individualism and his arguments for the renewed relevance of the Baroque.⁸⁹ In the dialogue, Gurlitt and an unidentified companion ("an educated layman, an older gentleman") wander together through a newly created metropolitan street.⁹⁰ Observing the surrounding buildings, Gurlitt's companion decries the creative license used by contemporary architects. He complains, "See, here the Baroque begins to touch our streets. Everything must have more curlicues (*Schnörkel*) and crockets than before. The figures float in arbitrarily placed clouds, without inner logic, according to 'painterly laws', as they are called."⁹¹ "My God," he continues, "it made no difference if Lessing lived!... Where will this unrestricted individualism lead?"⁹² With reference to the "Baroque" creations of younger architects, he pleads, "Whatever happened to what the French call '*le vraisemblable*,' what we call 'artistic truth' (*künstlerische Wahrheit*)?"⁹³ Stopped in front of a particularly egregious example of this new architecture, he dismisses its designer as an "artistic Schopenhauerian."⁹⁴

Having overheard these accusations, a man called "Architect N" approaches Gurlitt and his companion. He is the designer of the building under debate. In response to

⁸⁹ Cornelius Gurlitt, "*Alte Formen – Neuer Stil!*," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 23 (1889): 346-349.

⁹⁰ Gurlitt referred to the setting as "the ____ street of ____ city." *Ibid.*, 346.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 346.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 347.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 347.

charges that his project conflicts with the dictates of function and artistic truth, the architect explains, “When I make a crown cornice over a window, I do it not only to keep the rain off, nor only to bring to expression some inner function... but rather because I need light and shadow on this spot to bring the façade to life.”⁹⁵ As opposed to the Idealist perspective of the old man, the viewpoint of Architect N represents a renewed interest in the calibration of architectural effects.

Gurlitt’s companion reacts most strongly to contemporary architecture’s rekindling of the historical Baroque. In response to the Architect N’s threatening anti-Idealist stance, the man notes, “Your façade displeases me not so much by its composition as by the mentality it embodies. It is the eighteenth century that you want to revive, the age of Augustus the Strong, his mercantilism, the half-sweet and half-sensuous coquetry, the age of Germany’s decline, of political impoverishment and moral turpitude.”⁹⁶ The architect replies, “What has Augustus the Strong to do with me, what connection have I to his concubines?”⁹⁷ Rather than a continuation of the eighteenth century, his work is a product of the present. The architect continues, “I made the house, my spirit is there to be found... I alter the Baroque to suit my taste (*Gutdünken*)... I don’t copy the form, but develop it further.”⁹⁸ In what could be a rallying cry for Gurlitt’s own work on the Baroque, the architect concludes, “What does history hold for me, indeed the old art history? My colleagues and I are making the new art history.”⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Ibid., 347.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 347.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 348.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 348.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 349.

Echoing Piranesi's dialogue in the *Parere*, Gurlitt's piece extended the dualities of his histories of the Baroque directly into present-day architectural debates. The struggle between Michelangelo and Palladio is reborn in the generational dispute between the old man and the architect. This hinges around the issue of Idealism. In numerous places, Gurlitt argued that the idealist impulse in architecture had its intellectual roots in Hegel's alignment of beauty with the symbolic content of the work of art. At the beginning of a 1904 essay for the journal *Der Bautechniker*, he noted, "An idealist is a person who lives not in things – that is, not in reality – but according to a higher conception of reality. Idealism is life not in things as they are, but rather in the conception of them as they should be. The Idealist is therefore a person who lives not in this world, but rather in an imagined better one."¹⁰⁰ In architecture, this mode of thought made its greatest impact starting in the second half of the eighteenth century when Winckelmann and the "*Winckelmännchen*" that followed him aimed at undoing the aesthetic excesses of the Baroque period.

As opposed to the heterogeneous sources and distorted forms of Baroque buildings, it was now felt that only the remains of the Greeks were capable of conveying the nature of ideal beauty in architecture. According to Gurlitt, "The pure Ideal was found in Hellas!... Whatever did not correspond to the Parthenon and Erectheion was not only considered ugly, but also a violation of the spirit of the ideal."¹⁰¹ If a temple was discovered in Greece that did not correspond to expected principles, it was immediately

¹⁰⁰ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Die Theorien der Baukunst im XIX. Jahrhundert," *Der Bautechniker* 24, no. 9 (1904): 174-176. The essay was transcribed from a lecture that Gurlitt delivered at the Imperial and Royal Austrian Museum. Although the essay appeared almost twenty years after the publication of *Geschichte des Barockstiles*, its assessment of idealism accurately reflects the tenor of Gurlitt's thinking in the 1880's.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 175.

castigated as the work of a “bad” period. Gurlitt claimed that this view of the classical ideal reached its most advanced point in Berlin, where members of the *Schinkelschule* came to the conclusion that “only Greece in its prime and Berlin had created true architecture.”¹⁰² Everything from buildings to utensils were soon designed with the Doric order, a lamentable use of style that resonated with the wanton application of the Baroque in more recent architecture and design. At the end of his article, Gurlitt proclaimed, “The Germans were idealists; thank God they are no longer!”¹⁰³

For Gurlitt, the expansion of Hegelian thinking in nineteenth century German architecture was driven by the theories of Carl Bötticher.¹⁰⁴ As discussed in the previous two chapters, Bötticher’s focus on the Greek temple as the exclusive *Ur-Bild* for architectural development was a frequent target at the end of the nineteenth century. Gurlitt argues that for Bötticher, the Hellenes were, in effect, a first version of Schinkel. Bötticher’s argument in *Tektonik der Hellenen* that every element of the Greek temple’s form was the immediate plastic representation of its underlying structural motive led to an understanding of architecture as “the realization of the Ideal” (“*das verwirklichte Ideal*”). In Gurlitt’s characterization, Bötticher understands the beautiful in architecture as a function of “harmonic balance” and “the inner permeation of the intellectual and the sensational.” If the sensational aspect of a building grew too prevalent, it became comical. If, on the other hand, the intellectual component of a design was missing, architecture fell into the realm of the ugly. This unbridled creativity exceeds the

¹⁰² Ibid., 175.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 176.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 175. Gurlitt also ascribed this line of thinking to Schinkel, arguing that although Schinkel and Bötticher had rarely spoken in person, the embrace of an absolute aesthetics within architecture simply “lay in the air” at the *Bauakademie* in the 1840’s.

boundaries of decorum and enters the aesthetic territory of the Baroque, the enemy of normative aesthetics.

Gurlitt's critique of Hegelian absolutism in architecture led him directly to the work of Adolf Göller.¹⁰⁵ Göller's book *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur* was published in 1887, the same year as Gurlitt's *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*.¹⁰⁶ In a letter to his brother written on November 26 of that year, Gurlitt proclaimed, "Have you read Göller's '*Zur Ästhetik der Architektur*'? A magnificent book, full of stimulation." ("Ein *Prachtbuch*, voll Anregung").¹⁰⁷ In the same year, Gurlitt published a laudatory review of *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur* in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*.¹⁰⁸ "Something has just appeared," Gurlitt wrote, "that will certainly please architects."¹⁰⁹ He emphasized that Göller's book should be "assiduously studied" by architects since it provided a direct answer to the idealist direction in architecture and a solution to the resulting schism between theory and design.¹¹⁰

What was of primary importance in Göller's work for Gurlitt was its treatment of architecture as pure form. Gurlitt noted, "Göller knows that there is also a beauty of pure

¹⁰⁵ In the first chapter of this dissertation, Göller's relation to the psychological aesthetics of Wilhelm Wundt and Johann Friedrich Herbart was explored in relation to his notion of the "memory image", a psychological residue of previously encountered forms that governed the incorporation of new sensorial impressions into aesthetic experience.

¹⁰⁶ Indeed, in the timeline at the end of *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Gurlitt placed Göller's book as the other important event of 1887 besides his own history of the Baroque.

¹⁰⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt to Wilhelm Gurlitt, November 26, 1887, *Gurlitt Nachlass*, Technische Universität Dresden.

¹⁰⁸ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Göllers ästhetische Lehre," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 21 (1887): 602-606.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 602

¹¹⁰ At the end of the review, he cited the aesthetician Friedrich Vischer's comment that Göller's work "reconciles the afflictive cleavage between art and art history, making possible a peaceful cooperation of both camps, which are dependent on a fruitful interplay." Ibid., 606.

form, which he places in direct opposition to the aesthetic of Hegel. He says that there are certain combinations of lines, of light and shadow, which are indeed completely meaningless, but which are nonetheless pleasing to our eyes and spirit.”¹¹¹ These words were taken directly from Göller’s own text. In the first essay in *Zur Ästhetik der Architektur*, Göller postulated an “extrinsic” kind of beauty that has nothing to do with ideas, but rather with the immediate perception of images and forms. Göller used this idea of visual extraction to arrive at a bold definition of architecture as “an inherently pleasurable, meaningless play of lines or of light and shadow.”¹¹² Building elements such as columns, friezes, pediments, and cornices emerge in Göller’s analysis as dynamic geometric systems. According to Gurlitt, this constituted no less than a move from “ideas to sensuously felt form.”¹¹³ Gurlitt insisted that the rejection of normative ideas of beauty that went along with this shift was “entirely in the sense of Perrault and the Baroque masters.”¹¹⁴

In an essay from *Zur Ästhetik der Architektur* entitled “*Ueber ein neuentdecktes Gesetz der Formästhetik*,” Göller provided a sketch of how this world of lines, circles, spirals, and curves might present itself to the perceiving subject. Based on a lecture for the *Württemberg Verein für Baukunde*, it was republished in an 1887 issue of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*.¹¹⁵ In the lecture, Göller noted that in viewing a building, the eye

¹¹¹ Ibid., 603.

¹¹² Adolf Göller, “Was ist die Ursache der immerwährenden Stilveränderung in der Architektur?,” in *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur: Vorträge und Studien* (Stuttgart: Konrad Wittwer, 1887), 6.

¹¹³ Gurlitt, “Göllers ästhetische Lehre,” 606.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 606.

¹¹⁵ Adolf Göller, “Ueber ein neuentdecktes Gesetz der Form-Aesthetik,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 47 (June 11, 1887): 279-282.

comes across a range of sensations. He argued that every form of architectural ornamentation derives its effect from its characteristic geometric configuration. As an illustration, he used the example of architectural molding. When rendered as coving, molding presents a constant profile to the eye. Its straight line offered a direct path of visual progression. If, however, the same molding element is sculpted according to an egg-and-dart pattern, the perceptual experience of it is based on a sequence of curved shapes and receding gaps.¹¹⁶ In this way, every form of architectural ornamentation derives its effect from its characteristic geometric configuration.

In 1899, Göller published an entire book on the subject of the cornice.¹¹⁷ This element was an especially fruitful subject for him, since it represented a part of architecture for which “the beauty of the outer form is the purpose of the shape.”¹¹⁸ The construction of the cornice cannot be thought of separately from its “exterior appearance.”¹¹⁹ Göller’s book provided detailed illustrations of how particular light and shadow effects are achieved through construction methods. In his monumental *Lehrbuch der Schattenkonstruktion und Beleuchtungskunde*, published in 1895, this viewpoint was extended even further.¹²⁰ In hundreds of pages of increasingly complex illustrations and instructions for technical delineations, architecture is reduced to a play of substance and light, of abstract form brought alive through perception.

¹¹⁶ In the case of the echinus in a Roman Doric order, the perception of a circle replaces that of the straight line. In the Ionic volute, the motif of the spiral introduces itself to sensation.

¹¹⁷ Adolf Göller, *Gesimse* (Stuttgart: Arnold Bergsträsser Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1899).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹²⁰ Adolf Göller. *Lehrbuch der Schattenkonstruktion und Beleuchtungskunde* (Stuttgart: Paul Neff, 1895).

What was true for the individual decorative element was also true for the overall composition of a building. In *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur*, Göller claimed that the beauty of an architectural façade resulted from the simultaneous gathering of formal ideas that have only little value in and of themselves. He illustrated this part and whole relationship through the image of a malachite plate. Like other precious materials used in architecture, malachite achieves its mesmerizing effect from the combination of numerous seemingly independent elements. Göller listed different sensorial categories associated with the material. These included its outline, the path of lines across its surface, its level of shine, and its subtly varying degrees of transparency. He suggested that the combination of these properties into more complex compositions results in an amplification of sensation.¹²¹

In architecture, these patterns achieved their effect through a “*Reihengesetz*”, or “Law of the Series.” Göller defined a “series” as a sequence of like-shaped elements. A “contrast”, on the other hand, is a simultaneous or sequential distinction between different elements. In Göller’s system, architectural beauty results from the combination of multiple series. As the elements of a series develop contrasts within themselves, an accentuation of beauty and formal diversity is achieved through an increasingly complex relation between part and whole.

It is important to note in this respect that Göller used the Reichstag Building as a key point of reference. In his book *Was ist Wahrheit in der Architektur?* (“What is Truth in Architecture?”), he referred to Wallot in a critique of idealist aesthetics. In his

¹²¹ Göller found this same principle operative in a wide range of natural and cultural phenomena, including electrical states (where a light “grows brighter through the combined force of many currents”), formal patterns in folk dances, poetic rhythms, and the tonal sensations of music as investigated by Helmholtz.

discussions of the debates surrounding the position of the building's dome and the design of the project's main exterior façade, Göller uses Wallot's design as an example of the connection between perception and form. According to Göller, the impact of a building's exterior appearance takes precedence over an architect's success in expressing its interior contents. Göller maintained:

The formal beauty of the exterior has absolutely nothing to do with the harmony between the exterior and interior – it is dependent on other requirements. The harmony of lines, the agreeable choice of relationships, a favorable perspectival adjustment, and the lively contrast of light and shadow are values in and of themselves and thereby not first concerned – like idealist aesthetics wants to have it – with allowing us to presage the interior.¹²²

In the same way, regardless of its exterior conformation, the success of a monumental building's interior depended on its ability to provide a succession of rooms in which “every view is an artistic enjoyment in itself.”¹²³ To highlight his point, Göller invoked a famous dictum by Lessing: “Interest us, and then do what you want with the small rules!”

Göller's description of the Reichstag Building reflected Wallot's own approach to the design. In 1890, Wallot wrote a letter to K. E. O. Fritsch, the editor of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, in which he described his presentation of the building's final decorative scheme to the Parliamentary Building Commission. He noted:

¹²² Adolf Göller, “Was ist Wahrheit in der Architektur?,” in *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur: Vorträge und Studien* (K. Wittwer, 1887), 99.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 99.

As you know, figures stand on each of the four half columns on the four corner towers of the Reichstag Building, making a total of 16. At the last meeting of the *Parliamentsbaucommission* I explained that this has nothing to do with the psychological content (*seelische Inhalt*) of such women and men, but rather only with the silhouette that they create.”¹²⁴

As Wallot pointed out, statues were also located at the terminating points of the building’s most visible vertical lines in order to extend the eye’s path upwards beyond the horizontal band of the cornice. According to Gurlitt, “In the development of the project there arose an ever-stronger accentuation of the ascending lines, leading to a decisive breakdown of the sovereignty of the entablature.”¹²⁵ This contrast between the building’s massive horizontality and vertical thrust introduced a dynamic visual tension to the façade.

Oskar Hossfeld articulated a similar attention to perception in his review of the building for the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*.¹²⁶ Describing the corner towers, Hossfeld emphasized the dynamic contour created from the combined effect of the main cornice elements, which project 2.5 meters from the building’s half columns, and the free-standing, 4 meter-tall statues which stand on socles above them. According to Hossfeld, more than any iconographic function, the statues’ main purpose was to

¹²⁴ Original emphasis. Paul Wallot to K. E. O. Fritsch, undated (probably around 1890). Quoted in Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes*, 278.

¹²⁵ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 641.

¹²⁶ Oskar Hossfeld, “Vom Reichstagshaus,” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 13, no. 14 (April, 8 1893): 138.

complete the building's visual contours.¹²⁷ They were used to produce “profile effects.” This was also evident in Wallot's gargoyle sculptures, which were attached to the outside of the building's towers in combination with rich cartouche motifs. [Fig. 3.14] Hossfeld stated that the gargoyles had no practical or tectonic purpose. Instead, they created a dynamic profile line that could not be accomplished with the application of flatter elements such as pilasters. They were conceived solely for the benefit of the eye, as stimulants for calibrated formal effects distributed across the surface of the building.

The perceived novelty of Wallot's approach is evident in the immediate impact the Reichstag had on theories of architectural ornamentation. For example, the building plays an important role in Hermann Pfeifer's book *Die Formenlehre des Ornaments*.¹²⁸ For Pfeifer, Wallot's use of strong contrasts and the deep interplay of light and shadow exemplified the great potential of ornamentation to increase visual effect. For Pfeifer, this put Wallot's approach in line with the architects of the Baroque era.¹²⁹ Similarly, in a long, multi-installment account of the completed Reichstag Building for the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, Wallot's student Richard Streiter described, “The best works of the Baroque style served [Wallot] as a model for the sensitive arrangement of sculptural decoration, for its aggregation into single outstanding points, and for exploiting the

¹²⁷ The statues were personifications of government on the southeastern tower, education, art, and literature on the northeast tower, commerce and industry on the northwest tower, and sustenance on the southwest tower.

¹²⁸ This constituted the third volume in the first part of the popular *Handbuch der Architektur*, to which Göller had also contributed his chapter on the cornice.

¹²⁹ In *Die Formenlehre des Ornaments*, the Reichstag is illustrated next to a group of Baroque projects including the abbey at St. Florian, the abbey at Zwiefalten, a house in Bamberg, and Borromini's S. Agnese.

effective contrast of flat surfaces and decorated parts.”¹³⁰ Wallot himself related the theory of composition deployed at the Reichstag to the masterpieces of the German Baroque. In a letter to Blüntshli, he noted, “The older one gets, one becomes increasingly aware that a work of art becomes more effective the fewer motives one comes across... This has nothing to do with the greater or lesser richness of a building. At the Zwinger, by the genius [Daniel] Pöppelmann in Dresden, there is no line that is too much.”¹³¹ As Gurlitt put it in his recollection of his first meeting with Wallot in 1887, it was precisely this concentration on individualism and the “*Empfindungsgründen*” of architecture that made them such fast friends. This is what connected Wallot’s individualist practice to Gurlitt’s centuries long history of the emergence of the *Neubarock*.

¹³⁰ Richard Steiter, “Zur Baugeschichte des Reichstagshauses,” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 14 (December 1, 1894): 498.

¹³¹ Paul Wallot to Friedrich Blüntschli, May 19, 1890. Quoted in Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes*, 275.

Chapter 4

Baroque Bodies: Otto Rieth and the Architecture of Expression

Barock will Ausdruck – Ausdruck um jeden Preis.

Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*¹

In 1912, the curator Fritz Wichert staged an often-cited exhibition at the Mannheim *Kunsthalle* entitled *Ausdrucksplastik*. The show sought to articulate an emerging sculptural language based on what he called the immediate sensation of “relationships, lines, and movements.”² With works by Georg Kolbe, Wilhelm Lehmbruck and others, the exhibition highlighted the main protagonists in the development of an “*Ausdruckskunst*” (“art of expression”).³ In an exhibition two years later devoted to recent developments in architecture, Wichert envisioned the play of lines and surfaces in buildings according to a similar idea of expression. In his essay for the exhibition catalogue, he argued, “In the same way that one must physically feel oneself completely into (*körperlich hineinempfinden*) a work of sculpture in order to comprehend it correctly – the forces of weight and flow of nerves that are alive in it should also be evoked in one’s body – architecture too demands plastic empathy (*plastische*

¹ Georg Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (W. de Gruyter, 1931), 290.

² Fritz Wichert, “Ausdrucksplastik,” in *Fritz Wichert* (Mannheimer Morgen, 1978), 46. The catalogue included texts by Wichert and an introduction by the sculptor Georg Kolbe. See *Ausdrucks-Plastik* (Mannheim: Haas, 1912).

³ This conception of an *Ausdruckskunst* was related in many ways to a synthesis of the artistic lessons of the sculptors Rodin and Hildebrand.

Einfühlung).”⁴ This is what he called the “*Körperliche der Architektur*.” In it, architecture “speaks as a body.”⁵

Although Wichert’s exhibitions have frequently been discussed as important moments in the emergence of Expressionist art forms in Germany, his articulation of the connection between architecture, expression, and the body was also a product of Baroque research. Wichert was a student of Heinrich Wölfflin in the 1890’s, and his argument for “more sensations (*Empfindungen*)” as opposed to “bodily harmonies” recalled Wölfflin’s theories of the Baroque.⁶ The idea of expressivity was, in fact, a mainstay of art historical descriptions of the Baroque. The style’s plastic inventiveness, agitated appearance, and “*malerisch*” composition became the perfect vehicle for scholars at the end of the nineteenth century whose writings shifted art historical enquiry towards the role of subjective response.

Already in his 1886 dissertation *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur*, Wölfflin dedicated himself to answering the question, “*How can tectonic forms be expression?*”⁷ Two years later in his *Habilitationsschrift*, entitled *Renaissance*

⁴ Fritz Wichert. “Neues Bauen.” Reprinted in: *Fritz Wichert*. (Mannheimer Morgen, 1978), 50.

⁵ Ibid., 50.

⁶ Wichert’s fascination with expression directly recalled his teacher’s own theories of the Baroque. He argued that the emergence of an *Ausdruckskunst* ran in direct opposition to the language of Classicism in its fostering of “more sensations (*Empfindungen*) at the cost of bodily harmonies.” Ibid., 46. For a discussion of the role of the *Ausdrucksplastik* exhibition within the broader history of Expressionism, see Ursel Berger, ed., *Ausdrucksplastik* (Georg-Kolbe-Museum, 2002); Erich Ranfft, “Expressionist Sculpture c. 1910-30 and the Significance of its Dual Architectural/Ideological Frame,” in *Expressionism Reassessed*, ed. Shulamith Behr, David Fanning, and Douglas Jarman (Manchester University Press, 1993).

⁷ Original emphasis. Heinrich Wölfflin, “Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture,” in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 149. The original volume was published as Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur* (Munich, 1886).

und Barock, Wölfflin's interest in the expressivity of tectonic forms led him directly to the Baroque. The style's "new expressive means" stretched the language of architecture to such an extent that buildings appeared to jump, sway, compress, and expand.⁸ Drawn into this amplified economy of expression, the viewer felt impressions of restlessness, weight, release, and irregular breathing. These were the main "symptoms" of Baroque expression.

In the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the concept of expression also became a lynchpin of architectural interest in the Baroque. These ideas of expression can be seen in a remarkable, yet almost completely forgotten, body of work by the Berlin architect Otto Rieth. Through examinations of Rieth's wildly popular "fantasy drawings" and a previously unknown portfolio of photographs created by him that depicts nude men and women posing as architectural elements, the ideas of fantasy and formal effect that he was exposed to as a core member of the Wallot office in the 1880's and 1890's will be explored in relation to the complex place of "empathy," or "*Einfühlung*" within late-nineteenth century Baroque research. In his preoccupation with the connection between the body and architectural form, Rieth rejected the Hegelian absolutism conveyed in the writings of Carl Bötticher in an attempt to formulate a *Neubarock* anchored in the production of sensations, feelings, and moods.

Fantasy and Utopia in Rieth's *Skizzen*

⁸ See Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* (Munich: T. Ackermann, 1888). The book was translated into English as Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathrin Simon (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967).

In an 1899 essay entitled “New Appearances in the Architecture of Berlin,” the editors of the new journal *Berliner Architekturwelt* declared, “An overview of the modern movement in the architecture of Berlin would be incomplete if one did not think about the ‘architectonic fantasies’ with which Otto Rieth, one of the most brilliant collaborators on Wallot’s Reichstag Building, has distinguished himself.”⁹ Amongst all of the talented young architects and artists working in the Wallot office on the design of the Reichstag Building, Rieth had perhaps the most immediate impact on architectural culture in turn-of-the-century Germany, yet he is almost completely forgotten today. This is due in part to the fact that his built work was limited to a mere handful of projects, few of which survive.¹⁰ At the end of the nineteenth century, however, his innovative sketches were widely celebrated by architects as harbingers of the “*Übergangsstadium*” initiated by Wallot. Executed primarily in pen and wash, Rieth’s drawings presented architects with an autonomous world of energetic lines and nervous squiggles – a vision in which monumentality, imagination, and expression reclaimed their place within architectural discourse.

⁹ “Neue Erscheinungen in der Architektur Berlins,” *Berliner Architekturwelt: Zeitschrift für Baukunst, Malerei, Plastik und Kunstgewerbe der Gegenwart* 1 (1899): 12. The journal’s main editors’ were Heinrich Jassoy, Ernst Spindler, and Bruno Möhring. The publication was produced in cooperation with the *Vereinigung Berliner Architekten*. An ornamental drawing by Rieth appeared on the new journal’s opening image.

¹⁰ The only mention of Rieth in a recent publication is a single sentence in a catalogue for the architectural drawings collection at the *Technische Universität* in Munich. See Winfried Nerdinger and Florian Zimmermann, eds, *Die Architekturzeichnung: Vom barocken Idealplan zur Axonometrie* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1986), 154. Rieth’s independent works include a bridge for the Villenkolonie Grünwald (1891), Haus Lutz in Berlin (1892-93), Palais Staudt in Berlin (1898-1900), Kaufhaus Tiedemann in Berlin (1900), Kaufhaus Mohrenstrasse in Berlin (1900-01), a Bismarck monument in Heilbrunn and the Galatea Fountain in Stuttgart. Among his competition entries were a design for the Bismarck Monument in Hamburg (1902) and, together with the architect and fellow Wallot-Schüler Gustav Halmhuber, a design for a *National-Denkmal für Kaiser Wilhelm I* in Berlin (1889).

Rieth's work was widely distributed in a series of folio-sized volumes. These books were based on a collection of sketches that Rieth originally exhibited in 1889 at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Berlin. Starting with the 1891 volume *Architektur-Skizzen*, produced by the Berlin publisher G. Siemens, and continuing through the four installments of *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe*, produced from 1899 until 1904 by the Leipzig publisher Baumgärtner, these publications broadcast Rieth's work to architects in Germany and abroad.¹¹ At the beginning of the second edition of *Skizzen*, Rieth described the extended influence of his publications. "In Paris," he recounted, "where I acted as a member of the architecture jury for the World Exposition, I was able to hear from a wide range of representatives of the building profession that in the majority of countries in Europe – and especially in America – my work could be found on the tables of architects."¹²

Rieth was born in Stuttgart in 1858.¹³ As a boy, he attended the newly established *Realgymnasium*, where a classical curriculum was combined with practical experience in

¹¹ See Otto Rieth, *Architektur-Skizzen: 120 Handzeichnungen in Autotypie* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1891); Otto Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1896-99). In all of the books, Rieth's hand drawings are printed with a single color of ink using a halftone technique ("Autotypie" in German). In early editions, the books are organized with one black and white image per page. Subsequent versions contain two plates per page and are printed in a variety of alternating monotone sections encompassing a spectrum of red, blue, brown, and black.

¹² Otto Rieth, *Skizzen. Architektonische und Decorative Studien und Entwürfe* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, 1901). In an article for the *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, Albert Hoffmann noted that Rieth was "one of the few German architects whose works are disseminated in Parisian ateliers as welcome study material." Albert Hoffmann, "'Neue' Kunst in Berlin," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 9 (1898): 87. Similarly, in a report on student life at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*, George S. Chappell noted that in Parisian studios, "the sketches of a brilliant German – Otto Rieth, are thumbbed and worn." George S. Chappell, "Paris School Days: How the Student Lives and Works at the Ecole des Beaux Arts," *The Architectural Record* 28 (1910): 352.

¹³ His father was one in a long line of architects and builders in the family based in the area around Württemberg.

the material sciences.¹⁴ From there, he went on to study architecture at the *Technische Hochschule* in Stuttgart. Following his graduation, Rieth moved to Nuremberg in order to take up work with the architect Adolf Gnauth.¹⁵ He then accepted an offer to join the Reichstag office of Wallot. From 1883 to 1896, interrupted only by a trip to Italy in 1886, he played a central role in the design, construction, and decoration of the new home for the German Parliament.¹⁶

After his work at the Reichstag, Rieth opened his own practice on the *Elsholzstraße* in Berlin.¹⁷ As a way of supplementing his design work, he taught architectural drawing, decoration, applied arts, and architecture from 1897 until 1911 as part of the teaching faculty at the Kunstgewerbemuseum.¹⁸ After turning down an offer by Wallot to become his successor at the Akademie der Künste in Dresden, Rieth was encouraged by the Viennese Neo-Baroque architect Friedrich Ohmann to organize a new class on decorative painting at the Berlin Kunstgewerbeschule. The plan was ultimately thwarted by his death in 1912 at the age of 53.¹⁹

¹⁴ For a contemporary description of the goals and curriculum of the *Realgymnasium*, see Christian Heinrich Dillmann, *Die Idee der Realgymnasium und ihre Verwirklichung in dem Stuttgarter Realgymnasium* (Stuttgart, 1872).

¹⁵ For more on Gnauth, see Adolf Rosenberg, *Geschichte der modernen Kunst*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1889). For a recent account of Gnauth's life and work, see Lambert M. Surhone, Mariam T. Tennoe, and Susan F. Henssonow, eds., *Adolf Gnauth* (VDM Verlag Dr. Mueller AG & Co., 2010).

¹⁶ Although his exact itinerary is not known, Rieth's trip to Italy included stops in Verona, Florence, and Pisa.

¹⁷ A 1904 edition of *Academy Architecture* lists Rieth's address as 14/3 Elsholzstrasse in Berlin.

¹⁸ Starting in 1905 classes at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* were held in the architect Oskar Hoffeld's new Neo-Baroque building for the institution. For more information on the pedagogical activities of the museum, see Dorotheus Rothkirch, "Die Geschichte der Unterrichtsanstalt des Deutschen Gewerbe-Museums Berlin (1897-1924)," in *Packeis und Pressglas: Von Kunstgewerbebewegung zum Deutschen Werkbund*, ed. Angelika Thiekötter and Eckhard Siepmann (Anabas-Verlag, 1987), 273-285.

¹⁹ As reported in a pamphlet that accompanied a memorial exhibition for Rieth in 1912, over 4,000 drawings in Rieth's hand filled his Atelier at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* at the time of his death. See

The fertile artistic environment of the Wallot office during the 1880's and 1890's was a crucial factor in Rieth's artistic development. He dedicated each of the *Skizzen* volumes to Wallot, calling him his "*Hochverehrten Meister*."²⁰ In an analysis of Rieth's work, Hans Schliepmann suggested, "The sphere of his forms is that of the Wallot school, but he commands them with a master's touch and assembles his motifs, like a symphonic conductor of architecture, into ever new and magnificent images."²¹ For Schliepmann, Rieth's work represented an extension of the principles of individualism, creativity, and aesthetic effect that underlay Wallot's development of a *Neubarock*. Rieth's imaginative sketches were, in fact, a source of inspiration for many of the talented young architects in the Wallot office. Gustav Halmhuber and Theodor Fischer created numerous "*Phantasie-Zeichnungen*" in which they borrowed directly from the language of Rieth's compositions.²² **[Fig. 4.1]** By the beginning of the twentieth century, architects such as Fritz Schumacher produced collections of imaginative drawings consciously

Sonderausstellung, Otto Rieth: Entwürfe, Skizzen, Studien (Berlin, 1912), 3. The document is held today in the archives of the *Kunstabibliothek* in Berlin. Shortly following this exhibition, over four hundred of Rieth's sketches were collected together by the architect Karl von Großheim in another large memorial exhibition held at the *Akademie der Künste* in Berlin.

²⁰ The dedication reads, "*Meinem / Hochverehrten Meister/ dem / Architekten des Deutschen Reichstagshauses / Herrn / Paul Wallot / Kaiserl. Baurath / in Dankbarkeit Gewidmet*." A vignette by Rieth depicting Wallot's design for the Reichstag appeared in the book *Berlin und seine Bauten*. See *Berlin und seine Bauten* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1896), 53.

²¹ The full sentence reads, "*Rieth ist nicht eigentlich ein Neuerer; der Kreis seiner Formen ist der der Wallotschule; ihn aber beherrscht er mit Meisterhand und fügt, ein Symphoniker der Baukunst, seine Motive zu immer neuen, herrlichen Gebilden zusammen*." Hans Schliepmann, "Bücherschau," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 1, no. 3 (December 1897): 88.

²² The numerous "*Phantasie-Zeichnungen*" produced by Theodor Fischer throughout the 1880's and 1890's are now located in the architectural archives of the *Technische Universität* in Munich. Halmhuber was an accomplished draftsman and an important figure in the plan for the Reichstag Building's decoration scheme. During his time in the Wallot office, he created a remarkable double folio-sized sketchbook devoted to the project. The sketchbook is preserved today in the Wallot archive at the *Kunstabibliothek* in Berlin.

indebted to Rieth.²³ One reviewer proclaimed, “The impulsiveness and immediacy of [Reith’s] bold architect-dreams called for imitation.”²⁴

Taken as a whole, the *Skizzen* offer a glimpse into Rieth’s wide-ranging and progressively bolder architectural imagination. The themes presented in the books share dedication to the expression of monumentality.²⁵ **[Fig. 4.2]** Rieth’s work depicts an architecture of immense dimension and power. The drawings contain atmospheric backgrounds marked by wispy clouds and the silhouetted shapes of birds. Rieth’s tiny staffage, more shadow than corporeal, inhabits scenes with richly decorated buildings contrasted against an architectural backdrop rendered with simple geometric volumes. In an attempt to describe the power of Rieth’s drawings, one reviewer noted, “Gigantic women struggle under huge blocks of stone, tremendous arches span half a city, while man, ant-like, crawls below.”²⁶ The sublime character of Rieth’s drawings is accompanied throughout by a sense of constant movement. This evocation of *Bewegung* results from the looseness of Rieth’s line, bold light and shadow effects, and a heightened sense of texture resulting from the close interplay between sculpture and architecture. In many drawings, Rieth denies the viewer a complete picture of a building through a disorienting framing strategy. **[Fig. 4.3]** The intellectual effort required in completing

²³ Fritz Schumacher, *Studien: 20 Kohlezeichnungen* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner’s Buchhandlung, 1900). Schumacher was a vocal supporter of Rieth. Rieth’s architectural visions would have a direct impact on projects like Schumacher’s *Krematorium* in Dresden, built from 1908-11.

²⁴ P. Kühn, “Atelier-Nachrichten,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 5 (1899-1900): 222.

²⁵ A table of contents at the beginning of each volume provides individual labels for the images that follow. The labels indicate general building types or decorative elements, mostly made up of generic labels such as “Entry Hall”, “Stair Hall”, “Loggia on a Lake”, “Summer Pavilion”, “Pavilion in a Park”, “Mausoleum”, or “Park Gate.” The separation in the book of these titles from the pages containing the drawings themselves results in a feeling often noted by contemporary commentators that the particular aesthetic effects produced by each drawing outweigh any sense of programmatic specificity.

²⁶ Chappell, “Paris School Days: How the Student Lives and Works at the Ecole des Beaux Arts,” 352.

parts of buildings and monuments that are left outside the limits of the frame make the viewer consciously aware of his own perceptual effort.²⁷ Rieth contended that his compositions resisted any idea of completion. Each turn of the page in *Skizzen* presents new visual perspectives, spatial configurations, and formal tensions.

It is no surprise, in this respect, that Rieth was directly inspired by the architectural language of the Baroque. His imaginative designs were in part the product of his dedicated study of art historical surveys and plate books on the style.²⁸ In his foreward to the first edition of *Skizzen*, Rieth recollected that he “discovered” the medium of freehand drawing after a long visit in 1886 to the Uffizi in Florence. After experiencing the architectural renderings of Italian Renaissance masters, his interest soon grew to incorporate the “*Architekturträume*” of draftsmen from later periods. In the forward to *Skizzen*, he named Lepautre, Marot, and Bibiena as important influences. He contended that “the Late-Renaissance and its offshoots” were particularly successful in combining technical innovation with artistic drive.²⁹ Critics also compared Rieth to the architectural draftsmen, stage designers, and illusionistic painters of the Baroque.³⁰ Pozzo, Tiepolo, the Bibienas, Servandoni, Juvarra, and Legeay were all figures

²⁷ This activation of imagination constituted a rejection of the traditional value of “*finitio*”, a term that Heinrich Wölfflin would describe as “quite alien to the Baroque.” Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 67.

²⁸ The pamphlet created for the 1912 memorial exhibition of Rieth’s sketches held at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Berlin explains that his interest in the Late-Renaissance and Baroque grew from his “*Buchstudien*.” It was only in 1903, however, that Rieth was able to travel to Rome. See Kgl. Kunstgewerbe-Museum, *Sonderausstellung, Otto Rieth: Entwürfe, Skizzen, Studien* (Berlin, 1912).

²⁹ Otto Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe* (Leipzig: Baumgärtner’s Buchhandlung, 1896).

³⁰ For example, one reviewer for the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* described, “*Die poetische und große Auffassung der Architekturstudien, welche aus diesen Blättern spricht, ist eine Erscheinung, der man heute selten begegnet und die an die Schaffensweise der alten Meister der Hochrenaissance und des Barock erinnert.*” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 6 (1889).

commonly brought up in reviews.³¹ In an 1893 article on good Christmas gift ideas for architects, the editor of the journal *Kunst für Alle* even suggested that Andreas Schlüter could be a possible artistic precedent to Rieth's drawing style.³²

Above all, his interest in Baroque architects related to their success in blending historical sources into new designs. In the preface to *Skizzen*, he contended, "I am decisively against any one-sided partisanship for this or that artistic period. If we have anything to thank in our international artistic development, it is that we have learned to honor the genuine art and true architectural skill in the antique temple just as much as in the Gothic cathedral or the stair hall of a Baroque palace."³³ As was the case in Gurlitt's characterization of Wallot, Rieth championed the principles of originality and individualism as ways of combating the stylistic revivalism that stunted artistic developments in the second half of the nineteenth century. The architect Fritz Schumacher contended:

When one inquires into where the 'new' in Rieth's work lies, we find that it is no doubt more in the problems that he chooses than in his formal language. One encounters all possible characters of style in Rieth's designs, but one soon attains the conviction that he does not adopt the forms of a style in order to bring that specific style to expression, but that he applies these historical treasures, according to

³¹ Rieth was also compared to the more recent pioneers of the Neo-Baroque. For example, the critic Ludwig Hevesi described him as "a kind of building Makart, with a modern drift" ("*eine Art bauender Makart, mit modernem Durschlag*"). Ludwig Hevesi, "Weiteres vom Hause der Sezession," in *Acht Jahre Sezession: Kritik – Polemik – Chronik* (Wien: Carl Konegen, 1906), 68.

³² "...so müßte Schlüter etwa gezeichnet haben." "Weihnachtsbücherschau," *Kunst für Alle* (1893).

³³ Otto Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe*.

necessity, with a freedom in which only the general feeling, not a historical codex is decisive.³⁴

In 1897, Hans Schliepmann referred to Rieth's compositions as "architectural poems or *nottornos*; *capriccios*, if you will."³⁵ He conceded that the drawings "certainly do not have a 'function' in a purely practical sense."³⁶ Schliepmann argued that in Rieth's free incorporation of architectural sources, he was an "architectural formalist."³⁷

Rieth saw the Baroque fantasy drawing was a way to investigate the generative relationships between imagination and historical form. In addition to the plates in the *Skizzen*, this can be seen in numerous travel sketches produced by Rieth during his 1903 trip to Rome. Recognizable landmarks from across the stylistic spectrum, including the Cancellaria, Fontana di Trevi, and Pantheon, are joyfully recombined into imaginative assemblages. In one sketch, the famous open-mouthed doorway of the Palazzo Zuccari is blown up in scale and positioned above a monumental stairway. **[Fig. 4.4]**

Gurlitt too celebrated Rieth's innovations in the field of architectural drawing. In several writings during the 1880's and 1890's, he characterized the sketches as both an extension of Wallot's artistic strategies and a reemergence of the Baroque. In his book on the history of art in the nineteenth century, he proclaimed, "Since the Baroque style, such a strong feeling for masses and lines, such a spatial sensitivity (*"Raumempfinden"*) have

³⁴ Fritz Schumacher, "Otto Rieth's Schaffen," *Kunst und Handwerk* (1899): 112.

³⁵ Hans Schliepmann, "Ausstellung im Berliner Kunstgewerbe-Museum," *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 17 (1897): 566.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 566.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 566. Schliepmann also argued that Rieth's works resonated with those of a "freely-creating musician" (*"frei schaffenden Musiker"*). *Ibid.*, 566.

been absent from architecture.”³⁸ According to Gurlitt, Rieth’s main service to contemporary architecture was his free use of historical forms. On multiple occasions, he recalled that Rieth once declared to him that the pilaster was “the harlot of architecture” (“*die Hure der Architektur*”).³⁹

Rieth constituted a central example of Gurlitt’s conception of the *Neubarock*. Gurlitt argued that the *Skizzen* proved that “not all German architects see the essence of the Baroque style in scrollwork, shell work, and the accumulation of motifs.”⁴⁰ “The forms of the antique world,” he continued, “achieve a new, meaningful life. They become pliable, ductile means for the expression of new ideas – in the hand of a master of perspective, architecture achieves a painterly vitality (*malerische Lebendigkeit*).”⁴¹ In an 1892 review of the *Skizzen*, Gurlitt related Rieth’s display of fantasy to the Individualism that he also celebrated in Wallot and Andreas Schlüter. He insisted, “[Rieth] does not want to be *stilgerecht*, but rather *stilvoll* – all styles are therefore incorporated together so that he can make his own out of them.”⁴² Gurlitt’s description borrowed directly from

³⁸ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899), 645.

³⁹ See, for example, Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten*, 645. Paul Fechter used the same phrase in his book *Die Trägodie der Architektur* (E. Lichtenstein, 1922), 43.

⁴⁰ Cornelius Gurlitt, “Berliner Architektur.” *Die Gegenwart* 2 (1891): 30.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴² Original emphasis. The full quote reads, “*Er will nicht Säulenordnungen systematisch nach Vitruv’s uralten Gesetzen verbinden sondern Massen organisch gliedern. Er will nicht stilgerecht sondern stilvoll sein, wirft daher alle Stile durcheinander um sich seinen eigenen daraus zu machen.*” Cornelius Gurlitt. *Die Gegenwart* 49 (December 1892). At the end of his forward to the *Skizzen* volumes, Rieth himself wrote that it is through freehand drawing that “a power that cannot be subject to normalization is shown to advantage – that of fantasy!” Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe*, np.

Julius Langbehn's discussion of fantasy and monumentality in *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, which had appeared in bookstores one year earlier.⁴³

While Rieth's artistic imagination led Gurlitt to make connections with the kind of *Individualismus* that he had long celebrated in the Baroque, other commentators drew comparisons to one of the driving personalities behind late-nineteenth century formulations of the architect-individual. The architect Richard Dollinger described Rieth as the "Nietzsche of drawing."⁴⁴ Dollinger's comment came at a height of fascination with Nietzsche amongst German architects.⁴⁵ From Fritz Schumacher to Henry van de Velde, architects at the turn of the twentieth century sought to create an architecture resonant with popular calls for the reshaping of life and the emergence of the Nietzschean

⁴³ The corresponding passage in Langbehn's book reads, "*Der Mangel an großem Stil in der heutigen deutschen Kunst und der Mangel an lebendigem Stil in dem heutigen deutschen Kunstgewerbe, trotz des gerade hier vorhandenen Ueberflusses von Kunstrezepten, erfordert schleunige Abhilfe. Die alten Künstler hatten Stil, weil sie ihn nicht suchten und weil sie selbst - Persönlichkeit hatten. Man strebt heute stets danach "stilgerecht" zu sein; man sollte vielmehr danach streben "stilvoll" zu sein; denn stilgerecht ist diejenige Thätigkeit, welche dem durch fremde oder frühere Stile vorgeschriebenen Rezept "gerecht" wird; stilvoll hingegen ist jene Thätigkeit, welche selbst Stil hat und desselben "voll" ist. Das Streben nach Korrektheit kann oft sehr verderblich wirken. Es giebt auch ein neues Testament der Kunst in ihm wird das Gesetz - des Stils - nicht aufgehoben, sondern erfüllt; wie Liebe mehr als Gerechtigkeit, so ist Leben mehr als Korrektheit.*" Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1890), 36. For Langbehn's relation to Gurlitt's conception of the contemporaneity of the Baroque, see the previous chapter.

⁴⁴ Dollinger states, "*Er ist der Nietzsche der Graphik geworden.*" The obituary served as a preface to a special 1912 issue of the *Architektonische Rundschau* dedicated to Rieth. Richard Dollinger, "Otto Rieth, Architekt, Maler und Bildhauer." *Architektonische Rundschau* 28, no. 4 (1912), 14.

⁴⁵ Several scholars have recently dealt with this topic. See, for example, Alexandre Kostka and Irving Wohlfarth, eds., *Nietzsche and 'An Architecture of Our Minds'* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1999); Fritz Neumeyer, *Der Klang der Steine: Nietzsches Architekturen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2004); Elie Haddad, "In Nietzsche's Shadow: Henry van de Velde and the New Style in Architecture," *Architectural Theory Review* 10, no. 2 (2005): 89-99; Ole Fischer, *Nietzsche's Shadow – Henry van de Velde's Theory and Work in the Mirror of the Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche. A Comparative Analysis of Reception History in Early Modernity* (PhD diss., Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich, 2008).

“New Man.”⁴⁶ By including the *Skizzen* into this artistic lineage, Dollinger cast Rieth as a bridge to the first generation of modern architects.

Not only did Rieth set the aesthetic tone for later architectural expressions of the Nietzsche cult in Germany, but he also shared many of the basic concerns that motivated Nietzsche’s own involvement with architectural issues in the 1870’s and 1880’s. In his *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen (Untimely Meditations)*, first published in 1873, Nietzsche condemned the “historical disease” that had become a hallmark of the contemporary architectural cityscape.⁴⁷ With reference to the city’s “grotesque juxtaposition and superimposition of every imaginable style,” Nietzsche argued, “The German amasses around him the forms and colors, productions and curiosities of every age and every clime, and produces the fairground garishness of the modern world.”⁴⁸ Nietzsche yearned for architecture of uncompromised individualism and self-expression.

He found many of these characteristics in the “forbidden fruits” of the Baroque.⁴⁹ It was none other than Michelangelo, especially as framed by the art historical writing of Jacob Burckhardt, who presented Nietzsche with the possibility of “new values.” In his 1878 book *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches (Human, All Too Human)*, Nietzsche categorized the Baroque as “the eloquence of strong emotions and gestures, of the ugly sublime, of great masses, of quantity for its own sake – as already prefigured in

⁴⁶ See, for example, Schumacher’s atmospheric monument to Nietzsche in 1893. Architectural engagements with Nietzsche were bolstered by the writings of art critics and cultural commentators such as Richard Muther, Julius Meier-Graefe, Karl Scheffler, Paul Westheim, Richard Hamann, and, perhaps most importantly, Count Harry Kessler.

⁴⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 122.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human* (II, 144) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 246.

Michelangelo, the father or grandfather of the Italian Baroque artists – the light of twilight, of transfiguration, or of conflagration, playing on such strongly molded forms; and again, constant new audacities of means and intentions, powerfully underscored by the artist for the benefit of other artists.”⁵⁰

In *Skizzen*, Rieth also drew comparisons to the printed works of Piranesi. The architect Albert Hoffmann even went so far as to describe Rieth as the “modern Piranesi.”⁵¹ From the 1880’s onwards, Rieth carefully studied Piranesi’s views of Rome and his famous *Carceri*. Piranesi’s artistic originality and ability to express the sublimity of monumental architecture resonated with Rieth’s own artistic approach. Of special importance to Rieth was Piranesi’s employment of graphic representation as an independent instrument.

The *Skizzen* were projects in the fullest sense of the word. As Rieth himself put it, the medium of the fantasy drawing enabled him to “build on paper (*auf dem Papier zu bauen*).”⁵² In this way, rather than intending his works as preparatory drawings for future buildings or as records of specific monuments seen in books or during his travels, Rieth stressed the potential of the architectural drawing as an autonomous mode of expression.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p246. He continues on to note that Baroque phases have arisen on a number of occasions throughout the course of art and architectural history, and that in every instance the Baroque “has held good for many of the best and most serious persons of its time.” Ibid., 246. For a more detailed discussion of the role of Baroque architecture in Nietzsche’s writings, see Tilmann Buddensieg. “Architecture as Empty Form: Nietzsche and the Art of Building.” In: Alexandre Kostka and Irving Wohlfarth. (eds.), “*Nietzsche and ‘An Architecture of Our Minds.’*”

⁵¹ Albert Hoffmann, “Denkmäler,” in *Handbuch der Architektur* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner), 814. In a similar way, the author Fritz Roy Carrington stated, “Still another example of Piranesi’s influence is to be found in the sketches of the present day German Otto Rieth, the originality of whose drawings is so vaunted. Very talented and individual they certainly are, but to any one thoroughly familiar with the architectural fantasies of Piranesi, the source of inspiration is so obvious as to make it impossible that Rieth should not have known the work of his great Italian predecessor.” Fritz Roy Carrington, *Prints and their Makers* (New York: The Century Co., 1912), 151.

⁵² Otto Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe*.

In the preface to *Skizzen*, he argued, “Above all, [the sketches] prove that the perspective freehand drawing not only serves as a study for the completion of a certain building, but also provides the means for unhindered fantasy to display its sovereignty.”⁵³ By rejecting the traditional operational function of the drawing, Rieth attempted to raise the possibility of an architecture that sidesteps the dead-end conventions of historical revivalism.

Photographing the Baroque Body: *Der Akt*

The relationship between architectural form and the human body preoccupied Rieth throughout his career. In the foreward to the first volume of *Skizzen*, he argued, “The understanding of the forms of the human body and the representation of them for architectural purposes is of the greatest importance.”⁵⁴ In successive volumes of the publication, bodies began to assume an increasingly prominent place. Starting in the late 1880’s, robust figures recalling the sculptural language of Michelangelo became a consistent theme in the drawings. Reclining nudes and gigantic atlantid or caryatid figures are rendered with the same loose line as the buildings they decorate. **[Fig. 4.5]** By the 1890’s, buildings in the *Skizzen* had literally become bodies.⁵⁵ **[Fig. 4.6]** In a short commentary written in 1898, the critic Ludwig Hevesi described, “Next to enormous arches and column stumps, giant masks dominate, statues loom just like towers, portals

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ In 1899, Rieth even designed a series of kitchen implements, including a pair of sugar tongs, with the visage of a human body. These were fabricated by the Bruckmann company in Heilbrunn and displayed at the 1900 World Trade Fair Exhibition in Paris.

open themselves like gigantic mouths.”⁵⁶ As another reviewer put it, Rieth’s intermingling of architecture and sculpture resulted in the transformation of buildings “from pure tectonic form to ones shaped as human or animal organisms.”⁵⁷

Rieth’s pursuit of what critics called a “*lebendige Architektur*” was closely connected to his simultaneous involvement in another project.⁵⁸ Starting in 1894, Rieth and the decorative painter Max Koch published a series of photographic studies featuring men and women posing naked as architectural elements.⁵⁹ Discovered for the first time in the course of research for this dissertation, the images appeared in six folio-sized installments with the title *Der Akt: 100 Modellstudien nach Naturaufnahmen in Lichtdruck nach künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten gestellt und herausgeben*.⁶⁰ On the title page for the publication preserved at the Cooper Hewitt

⁵⁶ Ludwig Hevesi, “Das Haus der Sezession,” 68.

⁵⁷ “Atelier-Nachrichten,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 3 (February 1899): 231.

⁵⁸ This was also the term used by Jacob Burckhardt to describe the Baroque. In a letter written on April 5, 1875 from Rome, Burckhardt proclaimed, “*Mein Respekt vor dem Barocco stimmt stündlich zu und ich bin bald geneigt, ihn für das eigentliche Ende und Hauptresultat der lebendigen Architektur zu halten. Er hat nicht nur Mittel für alles, was zum Zweck dient, sondern auch für den schönen Schein. Worüber einst mündlich mehreres.*” Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870-1889* (München: Georg Müller und Eugen Rentsch, 1913), 6.

⁵⁹ As discussed in Chapter 1 in relation to the *Pergamonfest* at the 1886 Jubiläums-Ausstellung, Koch was a collaborator with Rieth on the decorative scheme of the Reichstag Building and his colleague at the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Berlin. The photographs were distributed on a subscription basis, resulting in a slight variation in the sequence and number of plates included in extant copies of the publication. Based on examinations of *Der Akt* at the *Kunstabtheilung* in Berlin, the Cooper Hewitt Museum library in New York City, and Avery Library at Columbia University, it is possible to get a general sense of the publication’s content.

⁶⁰ Max Koch and Otto Rieth. *Der Akt: 100 Modellstudien nach Naturaufnahmen in Lichtdruck nach künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten gestellt und herausgeben von Max Koch und Otto Rieth* (Leipzig: Internationaler Kunstverlag M. Bauer & Co., nd). Part of the obscurity of *Der Akt* was perhaps due to its banishment, along with other “illicit” works like Böcklin’s *Spiel der Wellen* and depictions of bodies by Michelangelo and Rubens, under the so-called “*lex Heinze*,” a set of laws drafted in 1899 which were aimed at presenting more stringent penalties against prostitution and other moral offenses. *Der Akt* is referred to directly with respect to this legislation in K. H. Döschner, “Die lex Heinze und das öffentliche Leben,” in *Das Buch der lex Heinze*, ed. Otto Falkenberg (Leipzig, 1900).

Museum in New York, a drawing by Rieth depicts a nude woman posed on top of a sculptural plinth. **[Fig. 4.7]** The figure holds a shield symbolizing the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture against her right arm. Behind this personification of the synthesis of the arts, a typical Rieth background with silhouetted birds, wispy clouds, and rough indications of surrounding buildings recedes into the distance. Above her, a weighty stone plaque in the form of a cartouche spells out the title of the volume. Secured to the frame of the drawing with a pair of stage set-like ropes, the decorative language of the plaque not only corresponds to the style of Rieth's *Skizzen*, but also borrows directly from the bold decorations of the Reichstag Building.

Although the photographs in the book encompass a wide range of settings, they can be divided into two general groups. In the first, male and female models are depicted in the midst of movement. **[Fig. 4.8]** In these pictures, bodies are captured in the process of falling from an upturned chez-lounge, heaving an imaginary stone-like object, or swinging on an improvised trapeze. In the second group of photographs, which constitutes the bulk of the publication, models are positioned as architectural elements. Koch and Rieth illustrate models posing in niches, above doorways, or on pediments. The scenes either mimic famous sculptural settings from the history of art or create original scenes. This is most clearly expressed in several images that feature male and female models posing, either alone or in pairs, as atlantes and caryatids. **[Fig. 4.9]** In these pictures, the human figure replaces the shaft of a column and appears to hold up the imagined weight represented by a capital. Angled mirrors on either side of the bodies create the illusion of multiple figures surrounding the column.

Contemporary reviews of *Der Akt* often focused on the way in which Koch and Rieth's choice of models illustrated poor aesthetic taste. A writer for *The International Studio* suggested that the photographs failed as guides to artistic practice "by reason of the want of taste shown by the authors in their choice of the models from whom the photographs have been taken."⁶¹ "Few of the figures represented," he maintained, "have much beauty and in some cases they are actually unsuited for pictorial treatment."⁶² Similarly, a commentator for the magazine *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* noted that in looking through the book, he couldn't find "even a single normal body."⁶³ In their depictions of largely middle-aged figures tumbling downwards or struggling with an imagined tectonic force, Koch and Rieth departed from the normative vision of classical beauty often employed by studio photographers at the turn of the twentieth century in popular Pygmalion-esque fantasies of sculptures becoming human and of studio models posing as "*lebende Marmor*" ("living marble"). Rather than portraying a vision of Winckelmannian youth, Koch and Rieth's photographs recall the twisting, falling figures of giants and the encumbered bodies of atlantid figures, both favorite motifs in seventeenth- and eighteenth century Austrian and German architecture. Instead of the beautiful, the subject of *Der Akt* is movement and force.

Before analyzing the place of *Der Akt* within Rieth's larger architectural project, it will be helpful to relate the publication to other attempts at the end of the nineteenth

⁶¹ "Der Akt: 100 Modellstudien von Max Koch und Otto Rieth," *The International Studio* 10 (1900): 212.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 212.

⁶³ This comment comes in a review of the book *Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers* by C. H. Stratz. The reviewer contrasted the abnormal bodies of *Der Akt* with Stratz's attempt to "erect a temple of living female beauty in the realm of ideas." "Die Schönheit des weiblichen Körpers von Dr. C.H. Stratz – Wien," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 3 (1898): 242.

century at using photography to explore the role of movement in art and architecture. Koch and Rieth's project shared many of the challenges faced by art historians in illustrating the *malerisch* effects of the Baroque. In the introduction to an 1876 book of photographs on the Royal Palace in Berlin, for example, the art historian Robert Dohme recalled that his efforts to find suitable illustrations for Schlüter's contributions to the building had been continually frustrated. "It is impossible," he noted, "for modern illustrators who have been schooled in the austere forms of antiquity to make the licentious compositional manner of the Baroque period so completely their own that their recordings provide a true image of the original."⁶⁴ This was not an issue of taste alone. Traditional drawings of facades and elevations could not accurately express the "perspectival effect of light and shadow" that determined the *malerisch* quality of Schlüter's architecture.⁶⁵ It was only recently that advances in mechanically-reproducible heliography and heliogravure techniques made it possible to convey convincingly the effects of the Baroque. Dohme pointed to the example of Schlüter's massive portal designs. Only the exceptional tonal range between light and dark produced by the photochemical process of heliography could illustrate the highly refined interplay of shadows resulting from projections and recessions across the surface of the building.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Robert Dohme, *Das königliche Schloss zu Berlin* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1876), np. Similarly, in a recollection of his first trip to Rome in search of the Baroque, Gurlitt explained his difficulties in gathering appropriate illustrations for his research. The first architectural illustrator that he hired left the job in part because, as Gurlitt put it, "he did not want to draw the 'stuff' ('Zeugs') that I requested." Photographs, according to Gurlitt, were extremely difficult to come by. After all, "Who would take the trouble to the photograph the 'Zopf'?" Cornelius Gurlitt, "Cornelius Gurlitt," in *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, ed. Johannes Jahn (Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1924), 10.

⁶⁵ Dohme, *Das königliche Schloss zu Berlin*.

⁶⁶ The role of photography in the evolution of the art history slide lecture was also intimately associated with the problematic visuality of the Baroque. See Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in Germany, 1871-1918* (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, September 2007).

The idea of *Bewegung* that Dohme was at pains to reproduce in his book on Schlüter was also expressed in the 1893 German-language edition of Étienne-Jules Marey's book *Le Mouvement*.⁶⁷ Published just as Koch and Rieth were concocting their own photographic procedures for *Der Akt*, this book introduced Germans to Marey's famous "chronophotographic" recordings of moving bodies.⁶⁸ In a section of the publication entitled "The Locomotion of Man from an Artistic Point of View," Marey argued for the usefulness of "instantaneous" photography in aiding artistic representation. The photograph's ability to capture phenomena of a very short duration such as "sea waves, or even the attitudes of men or animals during the performance of the most rapid movements" provided the artist with an unprecedented array of viewpoints.⁶⁹

According to Marey, the long sequence of still-shots captured by the chronophotograph enabled the artist to select from a variety of countenances. These range from "natural" positions revealing a state of temporary equipoise to "wild" bodily conformations that test visual credulity and conflict with traditional aesthetic values. In this way, motion study photography made it possible to analyze an entire stylistic

⁶⁷ E. J. Marey. *Die Chronophotographie* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1893). The book was published as the second volume in the series *Photographische Bibliothek*, edited by Dr. F. Stolze. For the French version of the book, see Etienne-Jules Marey. *Le mouvement* (G. Masson, 1894). The English version of the book was published as: E. J. Marey. *Movement* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895).

⁶⁸ The literature on Marey's use of photographic techniques to record motion is vast. For general discussions of the subject, see Francois Dagognet. *Etienne-Jules Marey: A Passion for the Trace* (New York: Zone Books, 1992); Marta Braun, *Picturing Time: The Work of Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Laurent Mannoni, *Etienne-Jules Marey: La mémoire de l'oeil* (Milan: Mazzotta, 1999); Michel Frizot, *Étienne-Jules Marey* (Centre national de la photographie, 1984); Aaron Scharf, "Painting, Photography, and the Image of Movement." *The Burlington Magazine*, 104 (May 1962), 186,188-95.

⁶⁹ Marey. *Movement*, 169.

spectrum from the Classical to the Baroque.⁷⁰ In the French and English editions of *Le Mouvement*, Marey quickly pushed aside the “aesthetic” problem of whether art forms had “the right to represent violent actions” or whether they should instead restrict themselves to “more reposeful attitudes whose expression and character are easier to detect in a live model.”⁷¹ In the German edition of the book, however, Marey’s images are related to the expressive language of the Baroque. In a footnote to the original text that runs over two pages in length, A. von Heydebreck, the translator of Marey’s text, maintained that photographing the nuances of muscle contraction in moving bodies contained the key to understanding alternating stylistic phases in the history of sculpture.⁷² On the basis of Marey’s pictures, he argued, “In contrast to the more painterly, actively moving (*malerischen, lebhaft bewegten*) style of more recent sculpture as it has emerged since Michelangelo, classical sculpture bears the character of the calm, the measured, and the balanced.”⁷³ According to Heydebreck, the sculptor’s task was to instill in the viewer the aesthetic effects of movement while remaining within the technical possibilities of sculpture.

⁷⁰ A similar connection between scientific motion studies and aesthetic expression can be found in the work of the German photographer Ottomer Anschütz. In addition to his famous photographic depictions of cultural events such as the laying of the ground stone of the Reichstag Building in 1884, Anschütz sought to capture the movement of humans and animals using a series of progressively faster shutter speed technologies. Anschütz recorded the movement of monkeys and various other animals in his own private zoo. With his invention in 1887 of the “Tachyscope” and in 1891 of the “Electrical Schnellseher,” Anschütz transferred these experiments in still photography into animated spectacles that anticipated the arrival of movie theaters to Berlin in 1896. In an 1889 issue of the journal *Kunst für Alle*, the same publication that featured many of Rieth’s drawings and photographs from *Der Akt*, the critic Georg Voss provided a lengthy analysis of Anschütz’s photographic contributions to the representation of movement. See Georg Voss, “Die Augenblicksphotographie und die Künstler,” *Kunst für Alle* (1889): 148-151.

⁷¹ Marey. *Movement*, 169.

⁷² Marey, *Die Chronophotographie*, 54-56.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 55. In the German context, readers would have already been primed for this connection through the art historical work of scholars such as Gurlitt and Wölfflin, whose investigations saw the representation of pronounced movement and muscular force as a defining characteristic of the Baroque.

Koch and Rieth's project constituted a parallel investigation of movement in sculpture and architecture.⁷⁴ Whether swinging from a trapeze, hurling a heavy object, tumbling from a piece of furniture in the pose of a falling giant, or simulating the load-bearing countenance of an atlantid or caryatid, the bodies in the photographs illustrate the aesthetics of muscle contraction and its relation to architectural force. As one commentator put it, the models in *Der Akt* were above all "moving and moved bodies" ("*bewegende und bewegte Körper*").⁷⁵

The connection between movement and architecture illustrated in Koch and Rieth's photographs can be clarified through a more detailed discussion of the prominent role of the "*Stützfigur*" in the book. At one level, *Der Akt* would have certainly appealed to architects, sculptors and painters as a basic catalogue of decorative motifs. Anthropomorphic decorations such as atlantes and caryatids were an almost ubiquitous sight on late-historicist facades in Europe during the final third of the nineteenth century. *Der Akt* was, in fact, published in both German and French versions, with Koch's first name appearing as "Margarete" in the latter.⁷⁶ From the richly decorated corner pavilions of Visconti and Lefuel's design for the New Louvre (1852-57) to the grand central stairway of Charles Garnier's Opéra in Paris (1861-74), the revival of caryatid and atlantid figures had been a popular architectural motif for some time amongst French

⁷⁴ The same attention to bodily movement would inspire Koch's subsequent project, consisting of photographic studies of nude men and boys working and playing in natural settings. Published in 1897 as "*Freilicht*", the resulting portfolio of photographs would mark the emergence of "*Freikörperkultur*" in Germany and signal a new fascination with the physical attributes of the "new man" amongst reform-minded artists and intellectuals.

⁷⁵ "Max Koch, Historienmaler und Otto Rieth, Architekt, *Der Akt*. 100 Modellstudien nach Naturaufnahme in Lichtdruck," *Pädagogischer Jahresbericht* 52 (1900): 438.

⁷⁶ The French edition was entitled *L'Act. 100 feuilles d'études de modèles en phototypie d'après nature*.

architects. In Austria and Germany, these figures lent a sense of aristocratic power and regional resonance to countless Neo-Baroque designs. Popular models for these motifs included the Viennese *Adelspalais* as conceived by Hildebrandt and Fischer von Erlach, the stair halls of German palace *Treppenhäuser*, and Schlüter's design for the main stair hall of the Royal Palace itself. The profusion of atlantid figures on the late-nineteenth century streetscape of Berlin even led to the formulation of a new term – “*Facadengymnastik*” (“façade gymnastics”).⁷⁷

Although most often intended as an expression of disparagement, this term could also be applied to an alternative view of expression cultivated in the circle of architects around Rieth.⁷⁸ The *Stützfigur* became a focus for investigating the relationship between the human form and the expression of architectural forces. This was closely related to the important role of the “*Stützfigur*” or “*Tragfigur*” in art historical accounts of the Baroque. Already in 1848, the art scholar Georg Schoeler suggested that in ancient Greek architecture, the appearance of atlantes and caryatids replaced the traditional device of the column with “forms that belong more in the realm of the *Malerisch*.”⁷⁹ Whether dismissed as a corrupting artistic aberration or embraced as a model for amplified

⁷⁷ Reported in: Alfred Woltmann, “Wiens Architektur in der Gegenwart,” *Unsere Zeit, Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart* 2, no. 2 (1866): 421. Although his article focused on Vienna, Woltmann's mention of “*Facadengymnastik*” occurred in a discussion of recent architectural developments in Berlin.

⁷⁸ One of the few books that mentions Koch and Rieth's project, the *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* relates the photographs of males in *Der Akt* to the importance of “*Gymnastik*” in fashioning masculinity in modern Germany. See Michael Flood, *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 480.

⁷⁹ Georg Schöler, *Ueber die griechische Baukunst, eine Vorlesung als Grundlage für den Unterricht in diesem Theile der alten Kunstgeschichte* (Erfurt: Gerhardt & Schreiber, 1848), 15.

architectural effects, the reception of this motif mirrored the larger reception of the Baroque.⁸⁰

At the same time that scholars of Classical art and archaeologists such as Heinrich von Brunn and Friedrich Overbeck introduced a wide audience to the powerful “human decorations” uncovered at ancient sites from Agrigento to the Acropolis in Athens, important monuments of the historical Baroque in Germany were celebrated for their appropriation of the human figure as a way of conveying movement and effect. In his 1890 survey book entitled *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, for example, Wilhelm Lübke attributed the aesthetic impact of the entry pavilions at the Zwinger complex to the fact that “architecture almost completely dissolves itself into moving sculpture.”⁸¹

This sense of concerted movement was also noted by Gurlitt. In *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, he argued that the first example of the type of *Tragfiguren* which “the later Baroque art of Germany loved in such an extraordinary way” could be found at the Palazzo Bargellini in Bologna, designed by Bartolommeo Provaglia.⁸² In his description of the building, Gurlitt called attention to the “giant human forms, seemingly embattled through a burdensome weight, who do not perform their work effortlessly like

⁸⁰ In a view characteristic of early rejections of the atlantid motif, the philosopher Karl Rosenkranz argued in a section of his 1853 book *Asthetik des Hässlichen* that the *Stützfigur* was a degradation of architecture. It presented, according to Rosenkranz, a “false overlapping of the arts” that could only result in a “monstrosity.” Karl Rosenkranz, *Asthetik des Hässlichen* (Königsberg: Gebrüder Bornträger, 1853), 158.

⁸¹ Wilhelm Lübke, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst von den frühesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1890), 808. Similarly, in an essay on the Zwinger, the writer and critic Hermann Hettner described the same figures in terms of movement and effect. “In the roughness of their musculature and in the intensity of their postures and movements,” he suggests, “the impact of the weight applied on them results in the most striking expression in the most varied nuances.” Hermann Hettner, “Der Zwinger in Dresden,” in *Kleine Schriften. Braunschweig* (Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1884), 371.

⁸² Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887), 387.

the figures at the Erechtheion, but manifest their momentary exertion in every muscle.”⁸³

According to Gurlitt, this idea of muscular exertion had a decisive impact on “the static sensation (*Empfinden*) of the viewer.”⁸⁴

In this way, the bodies represented in *Der Akt* would have been a welcome contribution to architects who utilized the forms of atlantes and caryatids not for their symbolic content, but rather for their composition as lines of force. This can be clearly seen in the work of the architect Bruno Schmitz. According to Anton Springer, his designs brought “what Rieth composed on paper to life.”⁸⁵ Rieth and Schmitz were colleagues on the faculty of the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* at the time that *Der Akt* was being assembled and their work was often illustrated in the same journals and displayed in the same exhibitions.⁸⁶

In projects such as his 1883 competition-winning (but never realized) entry for the Victor Emmanuel monument in Rome, his 1896 *Kyffhäuser-Denkmal*, and his 1898-1913 *Völkerschlacht-Denkmal* in Leipzig, Schmitz was celebrated at the turn of the twentieth century for the monumental, pathos-filled quality of his designs.⁸⁷ Through his close

⁸³ Ibid., p387.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p94.

⁸⁵ “Was [Rieth] auf dem Papier dichtete, gewann dann durch Bruno Schmitz Leben.” Anton Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte, Das 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: E. U. Seemann, 1907), 422. A similar idea is expressed in: Max Osborn, “Denkmäler,” *Die neue Rundschau*, 1 (1904): 217. For general accounts of Schmitz’s work, see Hans Schliepmann, *Bruno Schmitz* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1913); Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur* (München and New York: Prestel, 1995); Paul Zucker, “Das Völkerschlachtendenkmal bei Leipzig und die Entwicklung der neuen Monumentalarchitektur,” *Neudeutsche Bauzeitung* 9 (1913): 731-739; Mark A. Russell, “The Building of Hamburg’s Bismarck Memorial, 1898-1906,” *The Historical Journal*, 43, no. 1 (March 2000): 133-156.

⁸⁶ In the architecture galleries of the 1891 *Jubiläums-Ausstellung* held by the Verein Berliner Künstler, for example, works by Schmitz and Rieth were hung side by side. See “Die Architektur auf der internationalen Jubiläums-Ausstellung des Vereins Berliner Künstler,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 25 (October 10, 1891): 492.

⁸⁷ In projects such as the *Völkerschlacht-Denkmal*, architectural forces are expressed outwardly through an anthropomorphized language of musculature and strain. Figures in the building’s rotunda appear to emerge

collaboration with the sculptor Franz Metzner, Schmitz formulated what Julius Posener has called a “symbiosis of sculptural architecture and architectural sculpture.”⁸⁸ This can be clearly seen in the design of the *Weinhaus Rheingold*, a large restaurant located near Potsdamer Platz in the commercial center of Berlin.⁸⁹ [Fig. 4.10] For the building’s exterior façade, Metzner created eight relief sculptures of *Stützfiguren*. The sculptures depicted allegorical themes such as “Vanity”, “Art”, “Music”, and “Beauty.” For critics, it was not the intellectual associations of the figures that was of interest, but rather their manifestation of architectural thrust. According to one commentator, Metzner’s exploration of “the *malerisch* side of the Baroque” was fundamental to his development of an “*Ausdrucksplastik*”, or “sculpture of expression.”⁹⁰

In an essay on the *Haus Rheingold*, the critic Hans Schliepmann suggested that Michelangelo’s *Sybils* were a source for Metzner’s figures. Like Michelangelo, “[Metzner] had a wonderful eye for the filling of space (*Raumfüllung*) and line management (*Linienführung*), as well as the most fruitful formal fantasy.”⁹¹ “The raw

from the surface of the wall, the form of a face marks the end of the wall of the monument’s massive socle, and over-scaled human bodies radiate around the exterior of the structure’s dome. Julius Posener described, “Body, wall, antrum, opening” – the entire design is subject to a process of *Vermenschlichung*. Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur*, 99.

⁸⁸ Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur*, 99. For more on Metzner, see *Franz Metzner: Ein Bildhauer der Jahrhundertwende in Berlin – Wien – Prag – Leipzig* (München: Adalbert Stifter-Verein, 1977).

⁸⁹ Although designed at the same time that Koch and Rieth were creating the images for *Der Akt*, the building was constructed from 1905-07. For an analysis of the grand “*Kaisersaal*” space on the interior of the building, see Janet Stewart, “Exhibiting and Communicating the City: Imagining Berlin around 1900,” in *Imagining the City: The Politics of Urban Space*, ed. Christian Emden, Catherine Keen & David Midgley (Bern: Peter Lang), 193-216.

⁹⁰ W. Kurth, “Franz Metzner.” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 54, no. 22 (1919): 321. Kurth also suggested, “*Seine künstlerische Phantasie war im Barock beheimatet.*” *Ibid.*, 315. In this respect, Metzner’s powerful atlantes and caryatids could be compared to the caryatid studies of Rodin, whose own career-long studies of Michelangelo focused on the play of muscles and force.

material for his fantasy,” Schliepmann continued, “is the human body, which does not interest him in the expression of psychological emotions (*seelischer Regungen*), but in its lineature (*Lineatur*), in its dynamic appearances.”⁹² Ultimately, Schliepmann argues that on the façade of Schmitz’s design, “exaggerated muscles become an entire ornamentation.”⁹³ In a separate essay, Schliepmann traces this “new ornamental motif” back to Wallot’s decorations at the Reichstag. Reflecting his earlier analysis, he classifies the figures as “muscle ornamentation” (*Muskelornament*).⁹⁴

This connection between the body and architectural expression lay at the heart of Rieth’s own language in the *Skizzen*. In his book *Die Formenlehre des Ornaments*, Hermann Pfeiffer argued that the novelty of Rieth’s architectural language was that he had solved the problem of “the connection of the human form and architecture through a

⁹¹ Hans Schliepmann, “Haus ‘Rheingold’ in Berlin, Eine Meisterschöpfung von Bruno Schmitz,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 7 (1907): 9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁴ Hans Schliepmann, “Bruno Schmitz,” *Berliner Architekturwelt* (1913): viii. Schliepmann’s connection between the flexing decorations of the *Haus Rheinhold* façade and the sculpture of Michelangelo reflected the simultaneous fascination with the contorted forms of Baroque sculpture by late-nineteenth century German physiologists.⁹⁴ For these scientists, the mechanics of muscle contraction shed important light on the representation of the human form in art and architecture. The most frequent subject of their writings was Michelangelo’s sculptures of *Day* and *Night*. In his 1889 essay “*Nacht und Morgen des Michelangelo*,” the anatomist Ernst Wilhelm von Brücke characterized *Night*’s famous formal idiosyncrasies and anatomical inaccuracies as “a ruin of female beauty, indeed the ruin of a large and magnificent building.” Pulled from the realm of allegory and subjected to the same physiological approach that he deployed in research into the physical characteristics of muscle tone, Brücke scrutinized the sculptures as naked bodies – machines, that is, for expression. By citing his Berlin colleague Emil Du Bois-Reymond’s experiments with nerves and muscle contraction in frogs, as well as his own observations of flexing movements in live human models, Brücke argued that *Night*’s posture resulted from an inherent tautness in her muscles. The figure’s famous inner restlessness was expressed outwardly through the implicit movement conveyed in her twisted *contrapposto* pose. Moreover, he claimed that the aesthetic effect of the sculpture created a distinct sense of “inner movement” in our own bodies. Ultimately, Michelangelo’s sculpture resolved itself, through what Brücke called “lines of force,” into a larger compositional whole that inhabits the artistic interstices between sculpture and architecture. Ernst Brücke, “*Nacht und Morgen des Michelangelo*,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 62 (1890): 260-269. For a related examination of Michelangelo’s sculpture, see the anatomist Wilhelm Henke’s 1871 lecture “*Die Menschen des Michelangelo im Vergleich mit der Antike*.”

unified and harmonious contrast.”⁹⁵ This strategy was astutely described by Fritz Schumacher. In his essay “*Otto Rieth’s Schaffen*,” he argued, “It is the relationship of ornament to the surface which is decisive for the architectural effects of Rieth’s works. Architectural accents are concentrated into a concentrated effect and come to an especially striking importance.”⁹⁶ “In certain places,” he continued, “the decoration appears like a becoming-alive (*Lebendigwerden*) of the surface – it develops itself out of the surface and, in contrast to all tacked-on and hung-on ornament motifs, merges with the surface.”⁹⁷

This “law of contrasts”, as Gurlitt called it, was one of the main inspirations that Rieth took from the Baroque. Just as Wölfflin would describe the treatment of facades in Roman Baroque architecture as concentrating “the whole strength of the building at one point, where it breaks out in an immoderate display,” Rieth’s creation of bold architectural effects was related to the collection of a building’s forces into exaggerated points of expression.⁹⁸ Ultimately, his exploration of the body constituted a re-conception of the architectural surface in terms of the artistic language of the sculptural relief.⁹⁹ In his essay, Schumacher observed that Rieth’s architecture “becomes a relief that appears

⁹⁵ Hermann Pfeifer, *Die Formenlehre des Ornaments* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1906), 181. Anton Springer described a similar interplay in Rieth’s drawings between the “moving and swaying forms” of the human body and crisply articulated architectural surfaces. See Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte, Das 19. Jahrhundert*, 422.

⁹⁶ Fritz Schumacher, “*Otto Rieth’s Schaffen*,” 112.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁹⁸ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), 58.

⁹⁹ The pamphlet published to accompany Rieth’s memorial exhibition in 1912 celebrates his “*plastisch-architektonischen Könnens*.” Kgl. Kunstgewerbe-Museum, *Sonderausstellung, Otto Rieth: Entwürfe, Skizzen, Studien*, 6.

as if it had been chiseled out of the finished wall.”¹⁰⁰ Although Rieth built little in his career, the language of relief is evident in surviving photographs of his Villa Staudt.¹⁰¹

[Figs. 4.11, 4.12] Constructed in 1900, the building was located on the corner of *Tiergartenstrasse* and *Regentenstrasse* in Berlin.¹⁰² Across the convex shape of the structure’s narrow front façade, Rieth deployed a rich profusion of sculpture in order to increase a sense of focused animation. The building’s long street-side façade contained a mixture of several different textures created from figural sculptures, reliefs, and even gigantic sculpted heads set between pillars at its base.

Rieth’s investigation of the body during the 1880’s and 1890’s coincided with the central place of the relief in contemporary art historical and archaeological debates. Like the device of the atlantid or caryatid, the relief confused rigid conceptions of artistic boundaries.¹⁰³ As Alina Payne has argued, the effects of the relief were nowhere more heatedly contested at the end of the nineteenth century than in Berlin.¹⁰⁴ The display of

¹⁰⁰ Fritz Schumacher, “Otto Rieth’s Schaffen,” 112.

¹⁰¹ Photographs of the *Villa Staudt* were exhibited at the 1904 International Exposition in St. Louis. Several photographs of the project were published in a 1900 issue of the journal *Berliner Architekturwelt*. The building was also illustrated in Bruno Möhring, ed., *Architektonische Charakterbilder. Eine Auswahl deutscher und fremder baukünstlerischer Werke unserer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Ebner, 1900). The anthropomorphic features of the building were not, however, universally praised. A reviewer for *The Builder* complained, “The row of windows at the side with strongly moulded architraves and the deep band of sculpture running along between them has a very powerful effect. Then, with the want of reticence and good taste so characteristic of the Germans, the architect or sculptor or both go and spoil the whole thing by the colossal sculptured head between columns..., which looks like a bad joke.” “Magazines and Reviews,” *The Builder* (July 14, 1900): 32.

¹⁰² The project no longer survives.

¹⁰³ See Alina Payne, “Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the Relationship Between the Arts from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier,” in *The Built Surface: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Christy Anderson and Karen Koehler (London: Ashgate, 2002); Alina Payne, “Beyond *Kunstwollen*: Alois Riegl and the Baroque,” in Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), 1-33.

¹⁰⁴ These publications included Alexander Conze, “Ueber das Relief der Griechen” (1882); Heinrich von Brunn, “Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie” (1884); Adolf

the Hellenistic *Gigantomachia* frieze from Pergamon at the 1886 *Jubilaums-Kunstaussstellung*, discussed in the first chapter in relation to the political self-representation of the German Empire, brought the “Baroque” character of the so-called *Spätantik* directly before the eyes of art historians, architects, and the public at large. The frieze had an immediate impact on the viewer by virtue of its powerful and, for some, revolting artistic effects. As the art professor Max Zimmermann described, its feeling of physicality and movement intensified “the viewer’s sense of the figures’ bodily presence.”¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the most influential examination of the frieze’s bodies came from the archaeologist Heinrich von Brunn in his 1884 essay “*Über die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der pergamenischen Gigantomachie*” (“On the Art Historical Position of the Pergamon *Gigantomachie*”).¹⁰⁶ Although multiple scholars have discussed Brunn’s essay, its resonance with Rieth’s own architectural project makes a brief examination of it here

Trendelenburg, “Die Laokkoongruppe und der Gigantenfries des pergamenischen Altars” (1884); and Guido Hauck, “Die Grenzen zwischen Malerei und Plastik und die Gesetze des Reliefs” (1885). See Alina Payne, “Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Woelfflin, and German art history at the fin de siècle,” *RES* 53/53 (Autumn 2008): 168-89.

¹⁰⁵ Max Zimmermann, *Kunstgeschichte des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1892). In addition to comparing the virtuosity of the work with contemporary developments in music and with the history of Baroque rhetoric, scholars frequently focused on the way in which the corporeality of the frieze called to mind the Laokoon sculpture and other robust and strained bodies from the history of art. Gurlitt attributed to the frieze a “strong, healthy and fiery being” that found its closest parallel in the painter Arnold Böcklin. Gurlitt frequently compared with the Baroque. See Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihr Ziele und Thaten*, 629. In paintings like Böcklin’s *Battle of the Centaurs* (1873) or his *Play of the Waves* (1883), anatomical accuracy and classical proportions were, according to Gurlitt, forsaken in the pursuit of heightened expression. In a caricature published in the popular circular *Lustigen Blättern*, Böcklin is himself depicted as a hybrid man-animal giant, but instead of battling the Gods, he hurls a boulder at Anton von Werner, who wields a paintbrush.

¹⁰⁶ Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884). For recent discussions of Brunn’s essay, see Lionel Gossman, “Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelmine Germany,” *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (September 2006): 551-587; Alina Payne, “Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Woelfflin, and German art history at the fin de siècle.”

worthwhile. Brunn's analysis of the figures of the *Gigantomachia* focused on the relationship between muscle and architectural force. He observed, "The body is overloaded with the weight and mass of animal matter, becoming the bearer of raw, brute force: the human is reduced to the animal."¹⁰⁷ Importantly, at the same time that the giants were "*vertiert*," disjoined from the classical ideals of human proportion and transformed into pure muscle mass and physical force, their bodies entered into the dynamics of load and support. They become, in other words, an architectural element. This moment was central to Brunn's analysis, since it allowed him to classify the frieze as a "*tektonisch-dekorativen*" art form.¹⁰⁸

This powerful play of architectural forces required a correspondingly heightened artistic language. According to Brunn, "As the load becomes heavier, the struggle, the impression of static forces, must also find greater expression on the exterior through decoration."¹⁰⁹ He related the expression of pressure in the Pergamon figures to Semper's famous discussion of stereotomy in the second volume of his book *Der Stil*. For Semper, as the projection of a rusticated block increased, so did the intensity of its aesthetic

¹⁰⁷ "An dem Giganten ist der Körper mit dem Gewicht und der Masse des tierischen Stoffes überlastet, ist zum Träger roher brutaler Kraft geworden: der Mensch ist vertiert." Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, 24.

¹⁰⁸ The *Gigantomachia* was not, after all, conceived as an autonomous piece of sculpture. Although its public display as a series of fragments in the rotunda of the Altes Museum starting in May 1880 encouraged a reading that focused primarily on the figures' individual identities and "stylistic peculiarities" ("*stylistischen Besonderheiten*"), the frieze was, for Brunn, first and foremost an architectural member that had been "designed for a specific purpose and integrated into a monumental work of architecture." Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, 272.

¹⁰⁹ "Je schwerer aber die Belastung, um so mehr muss auch der Kampf, der Druck der statischen Kräfte nach aussen in der Dekoration seinen Ausdruck finden. In der Art, wie dies geschehen, liegt die innerste Eigentümlichkeit dieser Reliefs begründet." Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, 275.

expression of resistance.¹¹⁰ In Brunn's view, Semper's "aesthetic-formal" view of ashlar operated in the same way as the figural decoration of the *Gigantomachia* Frieze.

Departing from the rustication on buildings, however, the rough surface effects at Pergamon arose through the way in which bodies are positioned and then set in movement across the mass of the stereobate in order to create lines of force.¹¹¹

Wölfflin's own psychological reading of the Baroque grew directly out of Brunn's work.¹¹² In *Renaissance und Barock*, dedicated to Brunn, Wölfflin described the Pergamon *Gigantomachia* as relying "entirely on the effects of moving masses."¹¹³ Earlier in his *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur*, Wölfflin cited Brunn in an important section of the book concerning architectural ornamentation. He described ornament as the "expression of excessive force of form."¹¹⁴ Especially evident in "mature" periods, this lead to a new form of decoration that "demands of each muscle a pulsating life."¹¹⁵

Whether in photographs of struggling bodies or in the monumental scenes in the *Skizzen*, Rieth's approach to composition was directed towards a similar awareness of the

¹¹⁰ See Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2004), 733.

¹¹¹ The viewer's perspective is integral to this *tektonisch-dekorativen* system. Brunn provided a detailed account of the frieze's architectural effects as seen from different viewpoints. For example, he noted that if an observer were to stand in the middle of the Altar's monumental staircase and look to his left, the individual bodies in the frieze would, at least in Tondeur's reconstruction, align vertically with the ionic columns of the structure above. This would accentuate the sensation created by the downward thrust of the Altar and the supporting counter-force of the relief. See Heinrich von Brunn, *Ueber die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie*, 278-279.

¹¹² Wölfflin earned his doctorate under Brunn.

¹¹³ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 36.

¹¹⁴ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture*, 179.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 182.

connection between bodily movement and force. It should be no surprise, in this respect, that a decorative scheme strikingly similar to the Pergamon frieze appears in the pages of *Skizzen*. To either side of a pediment-topped opening at the stereobate level of a massive temple structure, situated below two reclining figures, Rieth inserted a frieze drawn with a quick, highly animated line. **[Fig. 4.10]** The looseness of Rieth's line assumes an almost independent vitality, distilling the anthropomorphic figures of its historical model into abstracted lines of force. Just as in Brunn's description of the Pergamon frieze, the bodies are positioned directly below two massive Ionic columns. They act out the downward thrust of the building as they extend outwards from its walls and around its corners. In this display of "façade gymnastics," Rieth conceives of the architectural surface as a play of movement, line, and force.

Sympathizing with the Baroque

Rieth's sketches and photographic experiments resulted in a theory of ornament that went hand in hand with the larger critique of architectural Idealism traced in this dissertation. According to the critic Eugen Fabricius, the "programmatic importance" of Rieth's sketches lay in their shift of architectural attention away from what architecture means and towards what it does.¹¹⁶ In his analysis of Rieth, Richard Dollinger suggested, "Our time still reveres too one-sidedly philosophy and poetry, which are based in the printed word. Rieth shows us that these two sentiments of the human soul can also be

¹¹⁶ Eugen Fabricius, "Austellung von Skizzen Otto Rieths in Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseum zu Berlin."

recorded in images and could be felt again with the eyes.”¹¹⁷ In their expression of what Gurlitt called “plastic vision” (“*das plastische Sehen*”), the fantasy drawings served as a laboratory for exploring the affective dimension of architectural form.¹¹⁸

In the preface to *Skizzen*, Rieth himself explained that one of the most important aspects of his work was “the stimulation of a kindred sensation for an architectural mood (*Anregung zum Mitempfinden einer Architekturstimmung*).”¹¹⁹ Rieth’s choice of words was not accidental. The concept of “*Mitempfinden*” was part of a constellation of key terms related to the word “*Empfindung*” (“sensation”) employed in the final third of the nineteenth century in the field of psychological aesthetics.¹²⁰ It was in this context that the term “*Ausdruckskunst*” was first employed in relation to the “immediate” sensations created by the art of music. In the middle of the century, figures such as Hermann von Helmholtz, Ernst Heinrich Weber, and Gustav Fechner sought to pinpoint the basis for sensation in empirical studies of sound. In his 1887 book *Die Musik als Ausdruck*, cited by Wölfflin in the margin of a self-annotated copy of his dissertation held at the archives of the Getty Institute in Los Angeles, Friedrich von Hausegger argued that the sense of movement arising from tempo change and variations in volume or tone was related to specific muscle movements.¹²¹ This exchange, for Hausegger, was related to an idea of *Mitempfinden* (“kindred sensation”) that formed the basis for expression in sound-

¹¹⁷ Richard Dollinger, “Otto Rieth, Architekt, Maler und Bildhauer,” *Architektonische Rundschau* 28, no. 4 (1912): 14.

¹¹⁸ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Ihre Ziele und Thaten*, 614.

¹¹⁹ Otto Rieth, *Skizzen: Architektonische und decorative Studien und Entwürfe*.

¹²⁰ Although in a strictly aesthetic sense the use of “*Mitempfinden*” and closely related words such as “*Mitgefühl*” or “*Mitfühlen*” can be traced back to the writings of Gottfried Herder, the term’s true entrance into architectural discourse coincided with the emergence of “empathy theory” in the 1870’s and 1880’s.

¹²¹ See Friedrich von Hausegger, *Die Musik als Ausdruck* (Wien: Carl Konegen, 1887).

making. Consciously recalling Charles Darwin's book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), Hausegger linked the expressive faculty of music to the stimulation of moods. Music was an "intensified sympathizing" (*gesteigertes Mitempfinden*).

The architectural implications of the concept of *Mitempfinden* became an central concern in the writings of Rieth's friend Richard Streiter. Although Streiter's work remains mostly unknown today, his critical and theoretical writings at the end of the nineteenth century provided architects with a direct link to the latest developments in aesthetic theory. In a memorial essay written after his death, one author described Streiter's work as "combining the architect, the aesthetician, the art historian, and the well-educated man."¹²² Streiter was born in 1861 in the town of Wunsiedel in *Oberfranken*. After moves at a young age to Schweinfurt and then Aschaffenburg, where he completed his Gymnasium studies, Streiter began his architectural training in 1878 at the *Technische Hochschule* in Munich. His professors included the architect Josef Bühlmann, the art historian Franz von Reber, August Thiersch, and Friedrich von Thiersch. After a *Freiwilligenjahr*, three years working as an *Assistant* in the Aschaffenburg *Landbauamt*, and a study trip to Italy from 1887-88, Streiter joined the Wallot office in the Fall of 1888. He would remain involved with the design of the Reichstag Building for five and a half years. Apart from his work on the Reichstag,

¹²² Emil Sulger-Gebing and Franz von Reber, "Richard Streiter," *Königliche Technische Hochschule zu München, Bericht über das Studienjahr 1911-1912* (1913): 4.

Streiter's activity as a practicing architect was limited to occasional competition entries.¹²³

His talents as a critic, theoretician, and historian found an outlet during his time working for Wallot. Streiter published the first in depth examination of the Reichstag Building in an 1894 issue of the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*. At the same time, he began to write articles for the *Blätter für Architektur und Kunstgewerbe*. These included pieces on churches and palaces located in his hometown of Aschaffenburg, as well as three essays on the Neo-Baroque palaces of King Ludwig II of Bavaria. From the 1890's through the opening decade of the twentieth century, Streiter contributed over fifty articles and book reviews to the *Augsburg-Münchner Allgemeine Zeitung*. In these articles, Streiter developed his career-long interest in the contemporary relevance of the Baroque. In 1898, he synthesized many of his ideas in a book-length review of Otto Wagner's recently-published *Moderne Architektur*.¹²⁴

After completing his work in the Wallot office, Streiter returned to Munich, where he studied under the philosopher and aesthetician Moritz Carriere, the philosopher and politician Georg Freiherr von Hertling, the novelist and cultural historian Wilhelm Heinrich von Riehl, the art historian and founder of the Munich *Institut für Kunstgeschichte* Bertold Riehl, and the historian of literature Franz Muncker. His most important teacher was the psychologist Theodor Lipps. In the summer of 1895, Streiter earned his doctorate under Lipps with a thesis on Karl Bötticher's 1846 book *Tektonik*

¹²³ These included unsuccessful designs in 1895 for the Kaiser-Wilhelm Monument in Berlin and for the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* in Leipzig. Streiter's design for the Kaiser-Wilhelm Monument was published in an 1890 issue of the periodical *Blättern für Architektur und Kunstgewerbe*.

¹²⁴ See Richard Streiter, "Architektonische Zeitfragen." Republished in: Richard Streiter, *Ausgewählte Schriften zur Aesthetik und Kunst-Geschichte* (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1913).

der Hellenen.¹²⁵ His dissertation, dedicated to Lipps, was published in 1896 as part of a series entitled *Beiträge zur Aesthetik*. The series had been started by Lipps and Richard Maria Werner in an effort to bring the results of psychological and aesthetic research to bear on art historical writing.

In his dissertation, Streiter used Bötticher as a launching point into a study of the potential contribution of psychological aesthetics to the field of architecture. As we have seen in previous chapters, Bötticher's book was a frequent object of critique within late-nineteenth century architectural discourse. His elaborate conception of tectonic expression was founded on his belief that Greek architecture illustrated a perfect correspondence between a building's constructional system and its exterior decorative scheme. This provided the basis for his ideas of a building's "*Kernform*" and "*Kunstform*." In numerous examples, he showed how every element of a temple's decorative scheme symbolized the building's underlying static essence. In this system, the building was like a human body, where beauty resulted from the analogy between the body's exterior forms and "inner concepts."

Streiter considered *Tektonik der Hellenen* a child of its time, characterized by "Hegel's philosophy and Philhellenism."¹²⁶ Like Gurlitt, Streiter used Bötticher to refute

¹²⁵ After completing his *Habilitationsschrift* in the "*Geschichte der neuen Baukunst und Stillehre*" at the architecture department for the Munich Technische Hochschule, Streiter worked for five years as a *Privatdozent* in art history, focusing mainly on the 19th century. After turning down an offer to become "*Ordinarius*" in Darmstadt, he accepted a job as Professor in Munich. After only a few years in this position, he was forced to reduce his teaching due to the onset of rheumatoid arthritis. He died at the age of 51 on 5 August 1912.

¹²⁶ Richard Streiter, *Karl Böttichers Tektonik der Hellenen als Ästhetische und Kunstgeschichtliche Theorie: Ein Kritik* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1896), 54.

the Idealist aesthetics that went hand in hand with the tectonic tradition.¹²⁷ According to Streiter, Bötticher's insistence on the analogy in architecture between built form and a building's inner-concept ran parallel to Hegel's formulation of the "idea entering into the appearance" and Schelling's "actualization of the absolute."¹²⁸ In his critique of Bötticher, Streiter called for the strict separation of "intellectual" and "aesthetic" concerns in architectural perception. He emphasized that the question of whether a viewer likes or dislikes a building does not at all depend on their knowledge of its underlying "essence." This distinction allowed Streiter to contrast Bötticher's Idealist approach with the Kantian tradition in aesthetics. According to Streiter, "the beautiful is enjoyed without ideas."¹²⁹

In a key section of his thesis entitled "Bötticher's Rule of Beauty for Bodily Form", Streiter argued that the enjoyment of form was not achieved symbolically through "analogical images" (*Vergleichsbilder*), but rather through the process of empathy. Inorganic material was made "living" through the feelings of the observer.¹³⁰ He contended that Bötticher's major flaw was that he did not "allow the 'dead material' of the inorganic to become 'living' through anthropomorphization (*Anthropomorphisieren*),

¹²⁷ It is important to note that Bötticher was, for Streiter, a transitional figure. Even though his depiction of tectonic expression had been replaced by advances in psychological aesthetics, his emphasis on the aesthetic conflict between load and support nonetheless anticipated the possibility of a psychological approach to architecture.

¹²⁸ Richard Streiter, *Karl Böttichers Tektonik der Hellenen als Ästhetische und Kunstgeschichtliche Theorie: Ein Kritik*, 54.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

through the ‘*Einfühlen*’ of the viewer.”¹³¹ For Streiter, aesthetic judgment was ultimately derived from our empathetic relation to form.

The idea of empathy and its relation to bodily projection was especially applicable to architecture, where comparisons between bodies and buildings had been a mainstay of theoretical enquiry since the Renaissance treatise.¹³² One of the first formulations of *Einfühlung* in relation to works of art can be found in Robert Vischer’s 1873 publication *Über das optische Formgefühl: Ein Beitrag zur Aesthetik*.¹³³ In his description of the aesthetic process, Vischer noted, “I project my own life into the lifeless form, just as I quite justifiably do with another living person. Only ostensibly do I keep my own identity although the object remains distinct. I seem merely to adapt and attach myself to it as one hand clasps another, and yet I am mysteriously transplanted and magically transformed into this Other.”¹³⁴ Whether encompassing a feeling of sympathy for a person who has met with misfortune or the emotive relation between an object and its viewer, this losing of the self was central to Vischer’s understanding of *Mitempfindung*.

¹³¹ Ibid., 44.

¹³² For a general discussion of the role of *Mitempfinden* and the closely related concept of “*Einfühlung*” in the art and art historical discourse of the period, see Juliet Koss, “On the Limits of Empathy,” *Art Bulletin* 88, no. 1 (March 2006): 139-57; Juliet Koss, *Modernism after Wagner* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Christian G. Allesch, *Geschichte der psychologischen Ästhetik. Untersuchung zur historischen Entwicklung eines psychologischen Verständnisses ästhetischer Phänomene* (Göttingen, Toronto, and Zurich: C. J. Hogrefe, 1987); Christian G. Allesch, *Einführung in die psychologische Ästhetik* (Vienna: WUV, 2006); Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou, eds., *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893* (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994); David Morgan, “The Enchantment of Art: Abstraction and Empathy from German Romanticism to Expressionism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 2 (April 1996): 317-341.

¹³³ Robert Vischer. *Über das optische Formgefühl: Ein Beitrag zur Aesthetik*. Credner, 1873. Vischer’s text was translated into English as: “On the Optical Sense of Form: A Contribution to Aesthetics” in Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou, eds., *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, 89-123.

¹³⁴ Robert Vischer, “On the Optical Sense of Form: A Contribution to Aesthetics,” 104.

The figure of the column, with its direct expression of load and support, provided a privileged locus for this theory. In his essay, Vischer stated, “The compressed upward striving, the bent or broken impression of an object fills us with a corresponding mental feeling of oppression, depression, or aspiration, a submissive or shattered state of mind.”¹³⁵ The same contrast between compression and striving would become an important point of focus in the writings of Lipps. At the beginning of his book *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen*, Lipps employed the image of a Doric column to illustrate the “objectivated enjoyment of self” that drives the process of aesthetic perception.¹³⁶ He argued that the column could be approached according to “optical” and “aesthetic” criteria. In the former, the column is perceived according to its mechanical requirements. In the latter, the viewer approaches the column through an economy of sympathy. Lipps suggested, “The rising up (*Sichaufrichten*) of the column is its ‘intrinsic action’ (*eigentliche Thätigkeit*). The word ‘action’ is thereby meant in its fullest sense: as exertion (*Anstrengung*), effort (*Bemühung*), expenditure of energy (*Kraftaufwand*); at the same time, effort through which something is accomplished.”¹³⁷ This is countered by what Lipps called a “*Gegenthätigkeit*” (“counter-action”) related to the downward force of gravity. The aesthetic effect of the column is achieved as the viewer observes this static “event” according to his own personal experience. Lipps

¹³⁵ Robert Vischer, “On the Optical Sense of Form: A Contribution to Aesthetics,” 104-05.

¹³⁶ Theodor Lipps, *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen* (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1897), 3. Starting in 1894, Lipps was a professor of philosophy at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. In 1896, he founded a Psychological Institute. His writings covered a wide range of subjects in the arts, including clothing, tea cups, paintings, and interior decoration. For an example of the wider implications of Lipps’ theory of empathy, see his essay “Kleidung als Ausdruck,” *Deutschland. Monatsschrift für die gesamte Kultur* 7 (October 1905-March 1906): 39-50, 137-163.

¹³⁷ Lipps, *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen*, 3.

noted, “I sympathize with the way in which the Doric column constrains itself or exerts an inner vitality because I recognize therein a behavior that is natural and pleasing to me.”¹³⁸ The column is capable of aesthetic expression because through its resistance, we literally feel ourselves into it.

In a detailed review of Lipps’ work for an 1898 issue of the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, the main publication for the Berlin building department, Streiter pointed out the direct relevance of these theories for architects.¹³⁹ According to Streiter, the “new aesthetics” had replaced lofty concepts such as the “harmony of the universe” and “absolute beauty” with psychological ideas of “aesthetic effect.” In his review, Streiter argued that architectural forms should be understood separately from the materials they are made of. From this perspective, it is possible to say that a column “raises itself up”, a line “runs”, a plane “extends itself” or “expands itself”, a sinuous line “rises up and sinks down”, a profile line “bends itself out” and “draws itself in”, and a circle “outlines itself.”¹⁴⁰

This connection of architectural effects with movement was also the basis for Wölfflin’s use of Lipps in his accounts of the Baroque.¹⁴¹ Like Streiter, Wölfflin was

¹³⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹³⁹ Richard Streiter, “Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen,” *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 15 (April 9, 1898): 170-171. Streiter maintained that although a review of a book on aesthetics may at first glance seem strange in the context of a professional architectural journal, Lipps’ detailed investigation into the effects of basic geometric forms is nonetheless of fundamental architectural importance.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p170.

¹⁴¹ In an 1898 issue of the journal *Kunstchronik*, for example, Heinrich Wölfflin wrote a celebratory review of *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen*. At the beginning of the review, he rehashed Lipps’ description of the column in terms of a “humanization” (“*Vermenschlichung*”) of form. Wölfflin sought to align the path set by psychological theories of *Mitempfinden* and *Einfühlung* with his own decade-long attempt to solidify art history’s conceptual basis. At the end of the review, he contends, “The path from “*Kunstwissenschaft*” to genuine *Kunstwissenschaft* is no less wide than the path from the botany

attracted to Lipps' analysis of the column as an alternative to Bötticher's theory of expression.¹⁴² Throughout his early writings, Wölfflin related the bodily effects of architecture to the formal language of the Baroque.¹⁴³ In *Renaissance und Barock*, he described, "The functions of lifting and carrying, once performed as a matter of course, without haste or strain, now became an exercise of violent and passionate effort."¹⁴⁴ Occasionally, he noted, "this effect of yielding to an oppressive weight is... so powerful that we imagine that the forms affected are actually suffering."¹⁴⁵ The combined effect of the Baroque's expression of pressure and force signaled not just a new style, but also a "new mood." This, for Wölfflin, is what made Michelangelo a foundational figure in the history of the Baroque. In his depictions of *Day* and *Night* for the Medici Tombs, Michelangelo literally "forced his moods" into sculpture and architecture.¹⁴⁶

of the kitchen to the botany of the plant physiologist." Heinrich Wölfflin, "Theodor Lipps, *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen*. Leipzig: J.A. Barth, 1897." *Kunstchronik* 9 (1898): 292-293.

¹⁴² In his dissertation, Wölfflin took issue with Bötticher's claim that the painted rim of leaves on the echinus indicated a state of buckling under pressure. He insisted that instead of compression, the leaves are an example of the "self-determination" of architectural form. This analysis related more generally to Wölfflin's description of the "Formkraft" of the column. He argued, "*Physical forms possess a character only because we ourselves possess a body...* We have all carried loads and experienced pressure and counter-pressure, we have collapsed to the ground when we no longer had the strength to resist the downward pull of our own bodies, and that is why we can appreciate the noble serenity of a column and understand the tendency of all matter to spread out formlessly on the ground." Original emphasis. *Ibid.*, 151.

¹⁴³ In the margin of the annotated copy of the *Prolegomena* housed at the Getty Research Institute, Wölfflin connects the acceleration of linear movement in facades to the "irregular breathing" caused by the Baroque. Wölfflin writes in pencil, "Baroque: irregular breathing."

¹⁴⁴ Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 45.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴⁶ Beyond the domain of art history, this psychological explanation of the Baroque's expressivity led the sociologist Georg Simmel to use Michelangelo's late sculpture as a metaphor for the pressures faced by the modern subject. In one of his earliest essays, entitled "*Asthetik der Schwere*" ("Aesthetics of Weight"), contrasted Classical and Baroque sculpture. The heightened expression of force in the Baroque, he explained, reflects our own feeling of physical and psychological weight. He described, "The movements of our limbs continually express the condition of a struggle between physical weight that pushes us down and the emotional-physiological impulses which the force of the body incessantly counters and deflects –

A similar relation between formal expression and the creation of specific psychological states can be located in Rieth's work. He once described his drawings as "sighs from a compressed soul." Rieth was widely celebrated by commentators for his role as a "*Stimmungs-Architekt*," an architect of moods and atmospheres. As the art historian Anton Springer described, his drawings spoke "directly to the emotions of the observer."¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Fritz Schumacher suggested, "Just as our literature today strives for a complex spectrum of nuanced sensations, the nature of modern man is expressed by Rieth in his attempt to become the architectural master of the most various, precisely defined sensations, from the graceful-coquettish to the sternly-dignified and from the sensually carefree to the sublime."¹⁴⁸

In its dedication to the stimulation of specific emotions and moods, Rieth's work could be viewed in relation to the more frequently discussed aesthetic experiments of contemporary *Jugendstil* artists and architects. Rieth's careful attention to the role of *Empfinden* in architecture coincided with a similar approach in the work of August

indeed, our movements *are* this struggle." Georg Simmel, "Aesthetik der Schwere," *Zeitgeist. Beiblatt zum Berliner Tageblatt* (June 10, 1901). The same relationship between feeling and form attracted contemporary psychologists to the expressivity of the Baroque. During the 1880's, for example, the medical teacher Jean-Martin Charcot attempted to establish an iconography of hysteria's specific forms. In transforming Charcot's photographic portraits of the "illogical movements" characteristic of a hysterical attack into the medium of drawing, the anatomical artist Paul Richer cast the pose of the subject into the unmistakable figure of Michelangelo's *Night*. These illustrations were included in Charcot and Richer's 1887 book *Demoniaques dans l'art*. Charcot's findings were translated into German in 1886 by Sigmund Freud. See J. M. Charcot, *Neue Vorlesungen über die Krankheiten des Nervensystems insbesondere über Hysterie* (Leipzig and Wien: Toeplitz & Deuticke, 1886). For more on Charcot's use of photography, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 2003); Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

¹⁴⁷ Anton Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 422.

¹⁴⁸ Fritz Schumacher, "Otto Rieth's Schaffen," 112.

Endell.¹⁴⁹ Under the supervision of Lipps, Endell completed a thesis on the theme of “*Gefühlskonstruktion*” (“Feeling-Constructions”) soon after Streiter had written his psychological critique of Bötticher. Throughout the 1890’s he investigated the range of “emotive effects” (*Gefühlswirkungen*) generated by the manipulation of form. In an article for the journal *Dekorative Kunst*, Endell created a so-called “table of emotions” whose eight rows and eight columns contained no less than sixty four adjectives aimed at helping the architect understand the “emotive effects” of different forms on the perceiving subject. In a later essay entitled “*Raum und Körper*” (“Space and Body”), Endell found a similar attention to effects in the carefully calibrated control of light and shadow by Baroque architects.

Even though Rieth’s approach to the issue of architectural effect revolved around an intensive engagement with historical forms, it was not seen as irreconcilable with the work of his contemporaries. In 1897, Rieth was paired with Otto Eckmann in a much-discussed exhibition at the gallery of the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Berlin. Both Rieth and Eckmann had just begun teaching at the institution. A large selection of Rieth’s drawings was displayed alongside examples of Eckmann’s textiles, illustrations, typefaces, book designs, and various domestic objects. Although critics pointed out differences in the approach of the two artists, they also pointed out a shared interest in individualism and expression.¹⁵⁰ In the same way that Eckmann’s numerous swan motifs relied on the play

¹⁴⁹ This search for the formal determinants of emotion and mood underlay his more famous forays into building, perhaps best illustrated in the façade of his Elvira Photography Studio in Munich, built in 1898. For a detailed account of Endell’s contributions to theories of form at the turn of the twentieth century, see Zeynep Celik, *Kinaesthetic Impulses: Aesthetic Experience, Bodily Knowledge, and Pedagogical Practices in Germany, 1871-1918*. For an account of the artistic atmosphere of Munich during these years, see Peg Weiss, *Kandinsky in Munich: The Formative Jugendstil Years* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

of line more than any mimetic relation to the animal, Rieth's architectural fantasies concentrated on the bold effects created by the re-combination of historical forms.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Albert Hoffmann compared the section of the exhibition devoted to Rieth to "the noble palace of an art-enthused patron, richly decorated with genuine works of art" and the room devoted to Eckmann to "the department store of a hard-working business man." Albert Hoffmann, "'Neue' Kunst in Berlin," *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 9 (1898): 89.

¹⁵¹ A reviewer for the new journal *Dekorative Kunst* argued that Eckmann's numerous swan motifs relied on "only the rhythmic line from the angry swan and not the swan." "Neue Bücher – Otto Eckmann, Neue Formen," *Dekorative Kunst: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für angewandte Kunst* 1 (1898): 95.

Chapter 5

Baroque Space: Vision and Movement in the *Neubarock*

Michelangelo is a space-man, even on a flat wall... Raphael – decorator; Michelangelo – space-computer.

Frederick Kiesler, *First Clash with the 'Last Judgement' of Michelangelo*¹

The old rallying cry ‘façade’, which three to four decades ago could still electrify the soul of every young architect, has today in its old meaning all but lost its popularity. A new inspirational word has taken its place: the all-embracing concept “*Raumkunst*.”

Karl Hocheder, *Gesichtssinn und baukünstlerisches Schaffen*²

In his 1897 book *The New Psychology*, Edward Wheeler Scripture illustrated a number of devices created to record the subjective dimensions of what he called “bodily space.”³ In chapters progressing from “tactual space” to “visual space,” Scripture sought to provide an English-language audience with recent experiments by German psychologists into the nature of spatial perception and bodily movement. The devices included an “Apparatus for Simultaneous Touches” that tested tactile response and a range of stereoscopes that recorded the eye’s ability to determine distances and points of

¹ Frederick Kiesler, “First Clash with the ‘Last Judgement’ of Michelangelo,” in *Selected Writings* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1996), 97.

² Karl Hocheder, *Gesichtssinn und baukünstlerisches Schaffen: Festrede gehalten bei der Akademischen Feier d. K. Technischen Hochschule zu München am 7. Dezember 1909* (München: Technische Hochschule, 1911).

³ E. W. Scripture, *The New Psychology* (London: Walter Scott, 1897).

focus within a visual field. **[Fig. 5.1]** In a subsequent chapter on movement, he described a series of apparatuses constructed to investigate the tactual and visual experience of the moving body. In addition to “tilting boards” aimed at testing the sensation of verticality, Scripture illustrated a “rotation frame” devised in the 1870’s by the Austrian physicist, psychologist, and philosopher Ernst Mach. **[Fig. 5.2]** Constructed to test a subject’s experience of a room while moving in multiple directions, the rotation frame was part of Mach’s longstanding attempt to ascertain how space is “constructed from our sensations of movement.”⁴ In contrast to the “space of the geometer”, this conception of “physiological space” was intimately related to the bodily sensations of the observer.⁵ Mach illustrated this notion of a spatialized self by depicting himself reclining on a chair in his private library from the perspective of his left eye. **[Fig. 5.3]** As he looks out past his own extended arm towards a window at the end of the room, his perspective is framed by his eyebrow, nose, and mustache.

From Alois Riegl’s employment of “haptic” and “optic” modes of vision to describe the relief-like space of Michelangelo’s *Laurenziana* to August Schmarsow’s articulation of the role of bodily movement in Borromini’s churches, the language used by art historians at the end of the nineteenth century to account for the spatial effects of the Baroque shared many of the terms developed by psychologists to explore the mechanics of spatial perception. This was not a matter of coincidence. In their search for

⁴ Ernst Mach, *Grundlinien der Lehre von den Bewegungsempfindungen* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1875).

⁵ Ernst Mach, *Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1886), 11. The connection between space and perception was also a major theme in the work of Theodor Lipps. See, for example “Die Raumanschauung und die Augenbewegungen,” *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane* 3 (1892):123-171; *Raumästhetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschungen* (Leipzig: Barth, 1897). For a general account of various aspects of spatial research in nineteenth century Germany, see Stephan Günzel, ed., *Raum-Wissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2009).

a vocabulary that could best articulate the effects of individual art forms, art historians found a fruitful approach to aesthetic experience in the field of psychological aesthetics. Space became a central point of interest for scholars who sought to explain the phenomenon of style change according to the viewer's perception of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The work of writers such as Carl Stumpf, whose *Über den Psychologischen Ursprung der Raumvorstellung* was published in 1873, provided scholars with a psychological account of space that could be brought to bear on works of architecture.⁶ In this sense, one could say that the Baroque provided art historians with the ultimate experimental device. The style's dynamic spatial compositions and collapse of traditional artistic boundaries resulted in an amplification of effect. This increased stimulation made the style a perfect object of study for investigations into the mechanisms behind the experience of architectural space. Through the closely interrelated writings of art historians such as Wölfflin, Schmarsow, and Riegl, the Baroque was widely acknowledged by the turn of the twentieth century as a "*Raumstil*."⁷

[Fig. 5.4]

⁶ Stumpf was a student of the psychologist Rudolf Hermann Lotze. As Harry Francis Mallgrave has described, Stumpf distinguished between the "visual perception of planes" and the "visual perception of depth" in attempting to establish a phenomenological understanding of the body's relation to dimensionality. In concentrating on the perceiving subject – what he characterized as "a spatial center that is outside of space" –, Stumpf also argued for the importance of the body in establishing a set of natural coordinates according to which the position of objects is perceived.

⁷ This theme was taken up in the twentieth century by students of Wölfflin, Schmarsow, Riegl. In his influential book *Plastik und Raum als Grundformen Künstlerischer Gestaltung* (1922), for example, the art historian Albert Erich Brinckmann contrasted the spatial system of the Baroque with that of the Renaissance through a pair of diagrams. As opposed to the metrical composition of spatial units in the Renaissance, Baroque space emerges from the alternation of compression and expansion in both plan and section. Whereas the Renaissance seeks harmony and consistency, the Baroque strives for a *Steigerung* of effect. According to this rubric, Balthasar Neumann's *Vierzehnheiligen* becomes no less than an architectural "*Raumorgie*" ("spatial orgy"). Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Plastik und Raum als Grundformen Künstlerischer Gestaltung* (R. Piper, 1922). In his book *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst* (1915), Paul Frankl described the perceptual difficulties presented by the same building. As if citing a psychological study, he relates, "The minds of more than ninety-nine per cent of the visitors to this pilgrimage church capitulate before such difficulty; and this is precisely the object; to appeal not to the

Far from a subject of art historical enquiry alone, the capacity of Baroque space to challenge, surprise, and move the viewer was an important subject in late-nineteenth century architecture as well. Although several scholars have discussed the competing models of spatial perception that emerged in the 1890's through the writings of Riegl and Schmarsow, the close connection of these investigations to architectural practice in Germany has remained largely overlooked. An analysis of two buildings by the architect Otto Schmalz, another young member of the Wallot office during the construction of the Reichstag Building, reveals the important role of space in the development of the *Neubarock* at the end of the nineteenth century. The evolution in Schmalz's work from a model of space based on the perspective of a stationary viewer to one related to the continually shifting view of a moving body helps clarify the more general terrain of the debate over space that emerged at the intersection of art history and architecture at the end of the century.

mind but to the imagination that surrenders itself to the ambiguous and uncontrollable." Paul Frankl, *Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style, 1420-1900* (Boston: MIT Press, 1973), 66. For the original German edition, see Paul Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1915). Vierzehnheiligen has been a continuing subject of architectural interest. Sigfried Giedion devoted considerable attention to the dynamic spatiality of Neumann's design in his book *Space, Time, and Architecture*. In 1955, Charles and Ray Eames produced a short, 11-minute film entitled *Two Baroque Churches in Germany*. Constructed using fast-cut still shots, the film provides a visual tour of Ottobeuren and Vierzehnheiligen during which a total of 296 images of the churches flashes on the screen every two seconds. Produced with the same technique that the Eames' used to make their more famous film *House*, which recorded the objects and architectural configurations of their house in Los Angeles, *Two Baroque Churches* suggested a direct connection between the forms of the Baroque and the language of modern architecture. At the same time, it attempted to convey the central role of space in the architectural composition of the Baroque. In 1921, Paul Fechter stated, "The end of the Baroque is the end of architecture as the felt formation of space." ("*Das Ende des Barock ist das Ende der Architektur als gefühlte Gestaltung des Raums.*") Paul Fechter, *Die Tragödie der Architektur* (Jena: Erich Lichtenstein, 1921), 120. For general accounts of the spatial quality of the Baroque, see Paul Zucker, "Space and Movement in High Baroque City Planning," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 14, no.1 (March 1955): 8-13; Wolfgang Hermann, "Deutsche und Österreichische Raumgestaltung im Barock," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* (1927): 129-158.

The Space of Architecture

Space was a central concern within architectural discourse in the final third of the nineteenth century.⁸ Already in the 1860's, Semper declared that the future of architecture lay in the "mighty art of space creation" ("gewaltige Raumeskunst").⁹ In his book *Der Stil*, Semper argued that the beginning of building coincided with the beginning of textiles.¹⁰ The art of the wall fitter, originating in the weaving of mats and carpets but later achieved through substitute materials, was the primitive technique whose product, supported by the scaffold of the wall, formally represented and made visible enclosed space. Masonry, the fourth of Semper's four basic motives of architecture, continued the spatial expressivity of textiles through the articulation of stone. As Harry Francis Mallgrave has shown, Semper's historical account of the masonry motive begins with the ancient earthen ramparts of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, whose application of brick and tile facings, later replaced by mosaic, stucco, and alabaster panels, rekindled the primitive spatial effects of textile-based enclosures. After descriptions of the lithic systems of the Persians, Egyptians, and Greeks, Semper emphasizes the emergence of a true "spatial art" in the vaulted constructions of the Romans.

⁸ For accounts of the role of space in nineteenth-century German architectural discourse, see Cornelis van de Ven, "Ideas of Space in German Architectural Theory," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 9, no. 2/3 (1977): 30-39; Cornelis van de Ven, *Space in Architecture: The Evolution of a New Idea in the Theory and History of the Modern Movements* (Assen/Maastricht and Wolfeboro, N.H.: Van Gorcum, 1987); Hermann Sörgel, *Einführung in die Architektur-Asthetik Prolegomena zu e. Theorie d. Baukunst* (München: Piloty & Loehle 1918); Richard Etlin, "Aesthetics and the Spatial Sense of Self," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 1 (Winter, 1998): 1-19.

⁹ Gottfried Semper, "Ueber Baustile," in *Kleine Schriften* (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1979), 419-420.

¹⁰ Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten: oder, Praktische Aesthetik. Ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde* (Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1860-63). Translated into English as Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic arts, or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2004).

In 1869, the architect Richard Lucae gave an address at the annual *Schinkelfest* in Berlin entitled “The Power of Space in Architecture.” Republished in the journal *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, the speech sought to highlight the fundamental role of space in the subject’s perceptual experience of different building types.¹¹ Lucae began his investigation with a detailed thought experiment concerning the effects of form, light, color, and scale on a room. As if a controlled variable in a scientific experiment, he strips the indivisible unit of the room of its symbolic meanings and potential sentimental attachments. Whether through the placement of windows, the positioning of doors, the height of a ceiling, or, in a nod to the Semperian theme of the textile, the articulation of a wall so that it achieves “the character of a hanging carpet,” Lucae’s description of a spectrum of spatial effects stems from his belief in the close connection between the subject and space.¹²

The idea of space as an independent entity was fully realized in the writings of the Swiss architect Hans Auer. His essays during the early 1880’s did much to place spatial analysis at the center of architectural attention.¹³ As J. Duncan Berry has noted, Auer’s

¹¹ Richard Lucae, “Ueber die Macht des Raumes in der Baukunst,” *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 19 (1869): 294-306. See also: “Ueber die ästhetische Ausbildung der Eisen-Konstruktionen, besonders in ihrer Anwendung bei Räumen von bedeutender Spannweite,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 4, no. 2 (January 13, 1870): 9-12.

¹² *Ibid.*, 296.

¹³ After apprenticing with a carpenter in Zurich at the age of seventeen, Auer enrolled in 1864 at the Federal *Polytechnikum*, where he became a student of Semper, Friedrich Theodor Vischer, and Wilhelm Lübke. In 1867, Auer graduated with honors and went to work for the city planner of Schaffhausen. In 1869, he moved to Vienna, where he entered the *Meisterschule* of Theophil von Hansen, eventually joining Hansen’s office. He would remain in the office for fourteen years, working on several projects including the Austrian Parliament Building, for which he served as project architect. After leaving the Hansen office, Auer became an architecture Professor at the *Staatsgewerbeschule* in Vienna. In 1885, Auer received a second prize in the competition for a new Parliament and Federal Administration Building in Bern. His design was eventually adopted, and he worked on the project from 1804 until 1902. After changing his citizenship from Austrian to Swiss, Auer took up a position as Professor of the History of Architecture and Sculpture at Bern University in 1890. He died at the age of 59 in 1906.

efforts as a writer were directed in part against the legacy of Semper's theories of *Bekleidung*.¹⁴ In contrast to his teacher's declaration in *Der Stil* that "the original formal principle of architecture, based on the concept of space, is independent of construction," Auer's earliest essays sought to account for the development of architectural styles in terms of structural changes.¹⁵ In an 1880 lecture, he divided spatial composition into two distinct groups whose development could be traced over time.¹⁶ "Through all the past ages, and for all coming ages," he argued, "the principle by which space can be covered admits only two methods: either by a *straight, horizontal roof* or by a *vaulted roof*, in other words, the material employed in ceiling construction can be treated either by *suspension* (with straight ceilings) or *by compression* (with vaults)."¹⁷ From this basis, Auer proceeded to an overview of the varying spatial characters of successive periods in architectural history.¹⁸

This connection between space and stylistic evolution became the main focus of Auer's 1883 essay "*Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst*" ("The Evolution of

¹⁴ See J. Duncan Berry, "Hans Auer and the Morality of Architectural Space," in Deborah J. Johnson and David Ogawa, eds., *Seeing and Beyond: Essays on Eighteenth- to Twenty-First-Century Art in Honor of Kermit S. Champa* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 149-184. Berry links Auer's discussion of space to the principles of "Realism" in architecture at the end of the nineteenth century.

¹⁵ See Hans Auer, "Die Bedeutung der Triglyphen. Ein Beitrag zur Frage über den Zusammenhang ägyptischer mit dorischer Baukunst," *Zeitschrift für bildenden Künste* 15 (1880): 279-83, 322-25, 354-60.

¹⁶ Hans Auer, "Der Einfluß der Construction auf die Entwicklung der Baustyle," *Zeitschrift des österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architektenvereins* 33, no. 1 (1881): 8-18.

¹⁷ Hans Auer, "Der Einfluß der Construction auf die Entwicklung der Baustyle." Translation from J. Duncan Berry, "Hans Auer and the Morality of Architectural Space."

¹⁸ He ends his analysis of construction with an examination of the importance of spatial composition to present-day architecture. "In modern architecture," he states, "the artist must, more than previously, transcend mere necessity and pure functionality by dividing and forming space according to the laws of beauty and harmonious *Raumbildung*." Ibid., p157.

Space in Architecture”).¹⁹ Auer stated that the appearance of a building is a direct product of the spatial formation that constitutes its inner “*Kern*.”²⁰ From this idea, Auer charted the history of spatial types through the delicate mediation in architecture between fantasy and structural necessity. From the hypostyle hall of Karnak and the palaces of Babylon to the rise of Christian basilicas, the history of architectural space is traced according to two distinct strategies. The first, beginning in the columnar hall of the Nile valley and ending with the Cathedral of Cologne, depends upon the arrangement of columns into organizing rows and the positioning of piers to hold up the structure of the vault. In the second, originating in the Mesopotamian basin and concluding at St. Peter’s in Rome, depends on the vaulting of the nave and side-aisles and the maturation of the dome. According to Auer, the first evolutionary process is based in the structural possibilities of stone architecture, while the second is based in clay and brickwork.

Auer illustrated these strategies with two double-page plates representing the historical progression of each type. [Figs. 5.5, 5.6] From the left of the page to the right, the 1:1000 scale figures provide a comparative narrative of spatial development over time.²¹ The two culminating images are of Cologne and St. Peter’s. In addition to their representation of culminating stages in spatial development, the buildings’ similar size

¹⁹ Hans Auer, “Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst,” *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 25 (1883): 65-68, 73-74.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

²¹ Auer’s illustration of “development on the basis of stone construction” features the hypostyle Hall of Xerxes in Persepolis, the hypostyle room in the Temple of Karnak, the Parthenon, the Basilica Ulpia in Rome, S. Paoulo fuori le Mura in Rome, the Cathedral at Speyer, and Cologne Cathedral. The plate depicting “development on the basis of brick building” shows the Serail from the Palace at Khorsabad, the Pantheon, the Hagia Sophia, a portion of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome, St Mark’s Basilica in Venice, and St. Peter’s in Rome.

made a direct comparison possible.²² Auer noted that the contrast between the thin bundled columns of Cologne and the massive pier system at St. Peter's illustrated the different spatial implications of the two structural traditions. St. Peter's is particularly important for Auer's argument, since its massive dome draws attention to the development of Renaissance and Baroque architecture. "Under the impression of this building," he suggested, "the sense for the development of large spaces and at the same time for the rich *malerisch* effect of the interior comes to an unprecedented importance in the Late-Renaissance."²³

For Auer, this had a direct connection to contemporary architecture. In an 1885 essay for the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, he commented on the particular "modernity" of the Baroque. Writing five years after Albert Ilg's *Die Zukunft des Barockstils*, Auer argued that the late-Renaissance and Baroque styles "established the architectural principles that we still today acknowledge as valid and on which our modern architecture is based."²⁴ He continued, "Our modern architecture wants to be stronger and more energetic in its effects than the High Renaissance, more animated and richer in rhythm and arrangement. The biggest admirers of Bramante could today in no way content themselves with a false imitation of the Cancellaria."²⁵ For Auer, these formal similarities to the Baroque were accompanied by a series of cultural resonances that further linked the Baroque era to the end of the nineteenth century. He explained, "This connection of the main characteristics

²² He notes that the first two *travées* of St. Peter's were the same as the front parts of Cologne up to the crossing.

²³ Hans Auer, "Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst," 73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

of our time with the Baroque period corresponds at the same time with that spiritual inner-connection that exists between the brilliant champions of the enlightenment – a Prince Eugen, Leibnitz, Voltaire, Rousseau, Newton, for example – and our own era.”²⁶ In addition, the “*malerisch*” effects created by the large vestibules and stair halls of the Baroque had been reabsorbed in the spatial conceptions of current architects.

The increasing popularity of spatial investigations in architectural discourse is also evident in the writings of Gustav Ebe. Although space as an independent topic of concern did not show up in his 1886 book on the Baroque, it was the main subject of his *Architektonische Raumlehre: Entwicklung der Typen des Innenbaues*.²⁷ The book was published in two volumes in 1900 and 1901. In the forward to the first volume of the publication, Ebe argued that a history told through “spatial images” had the potential to re-conceive architecture’s relation to tradition. Instead of the story of endless rises and falls, the spatial history of architecture revealed a narrative of “steady advancement.” Using the cellular unit of the “enclosed room” as his point of comparison, Ebe mapped the changing character of spatial arrangement over time. This culminates in the development of the Baroque. Harkening back to his campaign for the Baroque in the 1880’s Ebe contended that it was “impossible to disregard the accomplishments of the

²⁶ Ibid., 23. The remarkable explosion of Baroque motifs on the facades of apartment buildings and monumental edifices in Vienna brought with it, however, a certain danger. Auer thought that the Baroque was equipped to represent the program of some building types better than others. As opposed, for example, to monumental constructions, palaces, and typical seventeenth- and eighteenth-century apartment buildings, the characteristic “*Zinshaus*” of the modern metropolis could not be adequately conceived according to Baroque compositional principles.

²⁷ Gustav Ebe, *Architektonische Raumlehre: Entwicklung der Typen des Innenbaues*, 2 vol. (Dresden: Gerhard Kühtmann, 1900, 1901). Ebe’s book was almost immediately critiqued by reviewers. In a review for the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, Richard Streiter noted that Ebe’s attempt to elucidate the “metamorphosis of space” took many of its points, and even entire sentences, from the art historian August Schmarsow’s 1894 address “*Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung*.” See Richard Streiter, “Bücherschau,” *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* (December 5, 1900): 588.

Baroque for the artistic creations of our own time.”²⁸ Even if the forms of the Baroque might fall out of taste, the spatial composition of the style still related best to current architectural problems.

Surface and Depth

The importance of space as a design concern within late-nineteenth century architecture can be traced in the work of Otto Schmalz. Largely forgotten today, Schmalz was celebrated at the turn of the twentieth century for his formulation of a bold Baroque language in his work for Berlin’s official building department. He was born in 1861 in the West Prussian town of Carthaus, where his father served as a district judge. Following his time as a *Gymnasium* student in Thorn and Bromberg, Schmalz spent nine semesters studying at the *Bauakademie* and at the *Technische Hochschule* in Berlin. Towards the end of his studies, Schmalz passed the required exams for entrance into governmental service as an architect. After working for Hermann Eggert, Ludwig Hoffmann, and Ende & Böckmann, he joined the office of Paul Wallot during the design and construction of the Reichstag.²⁹ He stayed at the office until the completion of the building in 1894.

Afterwards, Schmalz divided his time between teaching at the architecture department of

²⁸ Gustav Ebe, *Architektonische Raumlehre: Entwicklung der Typen des Innenbaues*, vol. 2, iv.

²⁹ In 1884, he worked for ten months for Eggert on the design of the *Kaiserpalast* (later called the *Palais du Rhin*) in Strasbourg, a monumental Neo-Renaissance edifice. Afterwards, he spent a short amount of time in the city building department of Berlin, where he was the lead designer for a project for the new *Gemeinde-Doppelschule* on the *Culm-Strasse*. Schmalz then worked briefly in the office of Ludwig Hoffmann for the design of a new national court building in Leipzig. For a discussion of the architectural politics of this the *Kaiserpalast*, see Godehard Hoffmann, *Architektur für die Nation? Der Reichstag und die Staatsbauten des Deutschen Kaiserreichs, 1871-1918* (Köln: DuMont, 2000), 169-176. For a brief description of the *Gemeinde-Doppelschule*, see Eduard Schmitt, *Gebäude für Erziehung, Wissenschaft, und Kunst* (Darmstadt: Arnold Bergsträsser, 1889), 93-94.

the *Technische Hochschule* in Charlottenburg and working as an architect in the Berlin Ministry for Public Works.

Schmalz became close friends with Rieth, Streiter, and the other young members of the Wallot office. The emerging artistic approach of this group of architects dovetailed with Schmalz's own interest in the formal language of the Baroque. Already in 1886, Schmalz used a travel stipend of 1,700 marks that he won from a competition to journey south to Italy. In sketches from this trip, one can follow Schmalz's fascination with the buildings, details, and decorative objects of the late-Renaissance and Baroque.³⁰ Detailed drawings of buildings such as the Villa Pamphili, Villa Borghese, St. Peter's, and Palladio's Basilica on the Piazza dei Signori in Vicenza show the young architect's attention to robust decorative schemes and the integration of architecture and sculpture.

The amplified formal language that Schmalz discovered on his trips influenced his early work as an independent architect. A memorial article in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* suggested, "In his own design work, which in the first period of his development is comprised almost exclusively of competition works and could be viewed to a certain extent as an outlet for the active inner creative urge of the young artist, the step by step transition from a strong High Renaissance to a flowing and almost voluptuous Baroque style can be traced from year to year."³¹ In 1889, Schmalz designed a memorial for the Selve family in Berlin. **[Fig. 5.7]** Covered with sculptural texture and

³⁰ The sketches are held at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität Berlin*, Inv. Nr. 50676-50721.

³¹ "Zum Gedächtnis von Otto Schmalz," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 80, no. 5 (October 1907): 561-562.

flowing architectural forms, the monument was described by the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* as Schmalz's "full arrival at the Baroque."³²

Schmalz's interest in the manipulation of space as a source amplified architectural effects can be seen in his winning entry to the 1886 "Schinkel Competition." For this yearly event sponsored by the *Architekten-Verein* of Berlin, Schmalz submitted a design for a "*Fürstliche Sommerresidenz*."³³ Schmalz envisioned an enormous architectural campus spread out across a hilly slope that overlooks a river below. **[Fig. 5.8]** In addition to the main palace, the complex's grounds feature a vast system of terraces, *allées*, cascades, and stairways modeled on the famous garden elevation of *Schloss Sanssouci* in Potsdam. Other features include a monumental bridge lined by an "avenue of sphinxes", a lookout tower, a large amphitheatre, a gondola harbor, a towering fountain, and a separate guest palace almost as opulent as the main palace building.

In Schmalz's large elevation drawing of the site, the different parts of the complex are divided into three main groups. Each sits on a terrace-like shelf along the slope of the hill. At the bottom of the site, a sphinx-lined bridge connects to the shoreline. Immediately above, a disparate array of classically-inspired structures creates a kind of acropolis dominated by a gigantic sphinx statue. On the upper extreme of the site, a lone monopteral water tower surrounded by a complex network of terraces, avenues, and paths looks out across the landscape. These assemblages give the impression of a bombastic historicist fantasy, as if the young architect had recombined and regurgitated all of the

³² Ibid., 561.

³³ An announcement of Schmalz's victory can be found in the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 6 (1886): 96. The twelve large India ink drawings that comprise this previously unknown design are preserved in the archives of the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin (inv. nr. SW-A 1886-01-SW-A 1886-16). Averaging twenty-five by forty inches, the drawings range from comprehensive views of the entire site to colorful depictions of individual rooms such as the ballroom.

images from his art history courses. Schmaltz's drawings show no attention to the original context of his historical models and little concern for any measure of decorum in their redeployment. The overriding confidence of this gesture can be easily gleaned from the design's confident motto – "*So!*"

The most ambitious part of the scheme was the central palace. **[Fig. 5.9]** The building's composition is neither cohesive nor resolved. The rooftops of the building show a collection of medieval pinnacles, Renaissance crockets, flat iron and glass domes like the one at the Reichstag Building, and monumental domes. This assemblage of parts is amplified even more in the body of the building, where stylistic reminiscences ranging from the Gothic to the Italian Baroque are visible. More a collection than a composition, the building achieves its disorienting effect through overlapping, repetition, amplification, and juxtaposition.

At the same time that Schmalz attempted to show his wide-ranging historical acumen, his submission also reveals his interest in the idea of spatial experience. In his detailed site plan, Schmalz followed traditions in picturesque garden design by drawing intricate lines indicating the numerous avenues of sight created from the visual relationships between architectural elements, pathways, and the engineered topography of the landscape.

This theme continues to the interior of the main palace as well. In a large section drawing, Schmalz included a small figure, drawn to scale, in the entryway of the palace. **[Fig. 5.10]** Two straight lines in red ink are drawn from the figure's eyes through a sequence of spaces. This line of sight encompasses an entry hall, the grand ballroom, and a large lobby lit by a multi-colored stained glass window. The lines constitute the

viewer's cone of vision as they enter into the building, delimiting what lies within their view from what exists on the periphery of sight. Directly below the figure, Schmalz included a note indicating his intention for the drawing: "The view of the person who enters here simultaneously encompasses the entire large atrium straight ahead; the entry hall, reception hall, and up to the throne of the prince to the right; the entry hall, the ballroom including its dome, the equestrian sculpture, the lobby and the entire large rose window to the left."³⁴ At the end of this text, Schmalz made reference to the twelfth plate in his competition submission, which is an illustration of the subject's perceptual field according to the lines of sight indicated in the section. **[Fig. 5.11]**

Schmalz's illustrations of the interior could be seen as a diagram of recessional space. In envisioning a series of rooms receding into depth, Schmalz conceived of architecture as a frame for vision. His project's depiction of a succession of architectural layers operated according to the rules of sculptural relief. The medium of the sculptural relief was, in fact, an important reference in the establishment of space as a defining aspect of architecture within late-nineteenth century Baroque research. For Wölfflin, the "Vor- und Zurücktreten" characteristic of extreme painterly reliefs such as the Pergamon *Gigantomachia*, which rely "entirely on the effects of moving masses," corresponded to the identification in Baroque architecture of "*räumlich*" with "*körperlich*". Less than a decade later, the art historian Alois Riegl attributed the Pergamon Frieze's effects to its configuration of figures in depth. In his *Historische Grammatik der bildenden Künste*, originally prepared in 1897-98 for a lecture course on the history of the visual arts at the University of Vienna, he argued, "The figures no longer occupy a single plane; rather,

³⁴ "Der Blick des hier eintretenden umfasst zugleich gradeaus d. ganze grosse Atrium, rechts Vorsaal, Empfangsaal bis zum Thron des Fürsten, links Vorsaal, Festsaal incl. dessen Kuppel, das Reiterstandbild, Vorhalle und die volle Grosse Rose." Inv. Nr. SW-A 1886-14.

some stand farther forward and some farther back: space.”³⁵ Indeed, for Riegl, the art form of the relief in general constituted “the first step on the path toward an art of space.” Riegl used a similar approach to describe the evolution of Baroque church architecture. In the first stage, the wall of the church was meant to appear as a three-dimensional form. The pilaster, in this phase, was not conceived as a separate element attached to the mass of the wall, but rather as a protruding element of the wall form itself.³⁶ In the second stage of the Baroque, curving bulges make the entire wall move outwards and inwards as an undulating organism.

Although Riegl did occasionally write on contemporary architectural topics, the concept of the relief was incorporated into architectural discourse in the 1890’s most directly through the writings of the sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand. In his 1893 book *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (*The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts*), he extended the theories of “visuality” developed by Conrad Fiedler and the physiologists Wundt and Helmholtz into the realm of art and architecture.³⁷ In a way that would

³⁵ Alois Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 226. For more on Riegl’s articulation of the relief as a model for space, see Alina Payne, “Beyond Kunstwollen: Alois Riegl and the Baroque,” In: Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010): 1-33; Andrew Ballantyne, “Space, Grace, and Stylistic Conformity: Spätromische Kunstindustrie and Architecture,” In: *Framing Formalism: Riegl’s Work* (Amsterdam: G + B Arts, 2001): 83-106; Matthew Rampley, “Subjectivity and Modernism: Riegl and the Rediscovery of the Baroque,” In: *Framing Formalism: Riegl’s Work*, 265-290.

³⁶ Riegl suggested, “In earlier periods, the wall mass seemed to be hidden behind the smooth veneer, but now it took on movement of its own; as some parts bulged outward and others sank back in, the once-cohesive surface burst apart and was supplanted by pure forms.” *Ibid.*, 282. For more of his conception of the relation between architecture and sculpture in the Baroque, see Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*.

³⁷ Adolf von Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (J. H. E. Heitz, 1893). The book was most recently translated into English as: Adolf Hildebrand, “The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts,” in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 227-280. The conceptual genesis of Hildebrand’s book was in 1876. Beginning in 1881, Hildebrand submitted several drafts to Fiedler, who made extensive comments and annotations. It was not until 1893 that the book had found its final form.

directly influence Riegl's own investigation of the *Spätantik* and Baroque according to the schema of haptic and optic vision, Hildebrand's exploration of artistic perception unfolded through a series of dichotomies. The first involves the distinction between "visual" and "kinesthetic" perception. Visual perception coincides with a distant point of view ("*Fernsicht*") where an image is perceived as two-dimensional. As a result, the third dimension can only be perceived according to the play of surface contrasts. The kinesthetic mode of viewing, on the other hand, involves a near view ("*Nahsicht*"). As a viewer approaches an object, an increased rapidity of eye movement is needed to gain a coherent visual impression of it. As Hildebrand put it, this involves scanning (*abtasten*) the surface of the object as if holding an eye in one's hand.

The artist works within these variables in developing a "kinesthetic framework" for the perception of space. For Hildebrand, the relief provided a privileged place to explore this process. In artistic medium, a series of images of form and space are arranged to create a surface impression that suggests the idea of depth. The artist transforms what would originally involve countless kinesthetic images into a mode of viewing where the eye is able to calmly take in a scene. In the relief, two-dimensional images and three-dimensional movements are incorporated into a coherent spatial experience.

The bulk of Hildebrand's text was dedicated to the art forms of sculpture and painting. His idea of the spatial surface was, however, closely related to the experience of architecture. He argued, "Our relation to space finds its direct expression in architecture, which evokes a definite spatial feeling instead of the mere idea of the possibility of

movement in space.”³⁸ Hildebrand discussed buildings in the same terms that he developed for the other arts. As with sculpture, architecture instills an impression of movement in the viewer. Just as the “functional ideas” of load and support in architecture are experienced by the viewer as active and living forces, the spatial image of a building moves beyond function. It operates in the realm of visual effect.³⁹ In viewing the exterior of a Greek temple, for example, the viewer perceives its surrounding columns like the top layer of a relief sculpture, in which the columns are read backwards through a spatial continuum that leads all the way to the cella.

Although rarely mentioned by scholars, Hildebrand’s interest in the spatial quality of buildings was not merely a side-product of his professional attention to sculpture. Sculpture and architecture were, for him, part of the same artistic process. In a letter written from Florence during his student years, Hildebrand explained, “Whether I design (*aufbaue*) a head or a building, it is the same. A sense for great effect, for lines must be there.”⁴⁰ The various architectural projects housed at the Hildebrand archive in Munich show that several of his designs for buildings adopted a vernacular Baroque style evocative of local traditions.⁴¹

The spatial capacity of the relief was central to Hildebrand’s approach as an architect. In his Reinhard Fountain, designed for the *Broglie-Platz* in Strasbourg from

³⁸ Adolf Hildebrand, “The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts,” 269.

³⁹ Hildebrand maintained, “Here, too, the actual artistic, that is, space-forming activity is independent of functional ideas.” Ibid., 269.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Sigrid Esche-Braunfels, *Adolf von Hildebrand (1847-1921)* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1993), 454.

⁴¹ See, for example, his Wittelsbach fountain, Prussian Embassy, the *Hubertustempel* in front of Gabriel von Seidl’s National Museum, and his own house. The Hildebrand archive is held at the *Architekturmuseum* of the *Technische Universität München*.

1897-1902, Hildebrandt created a succession of architectural elements receding into space.⁴² **[Fig. 5.12]** The fountain consisted of a long shallow pool leading up to a statue of “Father Rhein.” The statue rested on a series of shallow, water-covered steps that bulged out in a convex shape into the pool. For the design of the steps, Hildebrand observed the cascades at nearby Baroque palaces such as Schleißheim, Nymphenburg, and Heilbrunn. The entire sculptural ensemble was situated in front of the columniated façade of a pre-existing Neoclassical theater by the architect August Hartel. In this way, the viewer was presented with a relief-like sequence of architectural elements conceived of as individual layers extending into depth. This effect was accentuated through rows of trees on each side of the pool basin.

The undulations and spiraling volutes of the fountain were juxtaposed against the comparatively austere façade of Hartel’s theater. In addition, the distinctive red hue of the theater building’s columns contrasted with the dark bronze of the Father Rhein statue. Hildebrand was inspired to use this technique after experiencing Roman works such as the *Fontana di Trevi*, which displayed a similar contrast between moving sculptural forms and an architectural backdrop. This interest in the connection between sculpture and architecture can be seen in a photograph located at the Hildebrand archive. **[Fig. 5.13]** Taken in his studio, the picture depicts a plaster model of the fountain set in front of a reproduction of the façade of the theater. Visible behind both is the bent hand and chest from a cast of Michelangelo’s sculpture of the Dying Slave at the tomb of Julius II.⁴³

⁴² Documents related to the project are located in the Hildebrand archive. For more documentation on the Rainhard Fountain, see Sigrid Esche-Braunfels, *Adolf von Hildebrand (1847-1921)*.

⁴³ Hildebrand saw this work on display at the Louvre in Paris.

From body to building to body, Hildebrand's placement of the model indicates his belief in the close interplay between architectural and sculptural effects.

Hildebrand's theories had a wide influence on architects. Perhaps the most direct appropriation of his ideas came in the work of the Munich architect Karl Hocheder.⁴⁴ In a lecture delivered in 1903, Hocheder attempted to outline the close historical relationship that existed between architecture, space, and the creation of visual effects (*Bildwirkungen*).⁴⁵ The basic unit of his investigation was subject's normal field of vision, which he called the *Sehfeld*. The *Sehfeld* is defined as the ideal viewing space that the viewer can take in at a single glance without unnecessary eye movements. In this stable position, a cone of vision is formed whose width is normally between twenty-four and thirty degrees. Hocheder explained that objects placed in the middle of the cone are perceived with the most clarity while those located on its boundary instill a feeling of discomfort. In the same way that a viewer seeks to focus their view by instinctively placing their hands alongside their temples, Hildebrand argued that the idea of the frame was crucial in creating spatial order in architecture.

In addition to his reliance on Hildebrand, Hocheder's exploration of architecture's construction of a perceptual frame was indebted to the urban planner and writer Camillo

⁴⁴ Born in the town of Weiherhammer in 1854, Hocheder studied architecture at the *Technische Hochschule* in Munich from 1874-78. In 1881, he worked as an assistant to Friedrich von Thiersch. Afterwards, he worked for a short time for the city of Amberg. He then served in the *Stadtbauamt* in Munich from 1886-89. In 1898, he became a professor of architecture at the *Technische Hochschule* in Munich. It was in this position that Hocheder translated his practical experience working in the city building department into a series of lectures and essays that sought to translate Hildebrand's theories of relief sculpture into the realm of architectural space. Hocheder's archive is located at the *Architekturmuseum* at the *Technische Universität* in Munich.

⁴⁵ Karl Hocheder, *Baukunst und Bildwirkung: Vortrag gehalten zu München am 17. Februar 1903 im Liebig'schen Hörsaal* (München: Süddeutsche Berl.-Anst., 1903). Although presented after the turn of the twentieth century, the lecture provided a summation of Hocheder's experiences since the late-1880's.

Sitte.⁴⁶ In his influential 1889 book *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*City Planning According to Artistic Principles*), Sitte explored the natural sense of concavity resulting from the visual pyramid emanating from the viewer's eye.⁴⁷ Whether in the indentation of a building's façade or the positioning of structure's around a city square, Sitte claimed that the idea of concavity was crucial to the "strong effects" achieved by Baroque architects in masterpieces such as the palace at Coblenz, the *Residenz* at Würzburg and the Dresden Zwinger. In a series of famous "croquis" at the end of his book, Sitte illustrated a "setting for a church in the Baroque manner" and a "model layout for a complex of public buildings."

Hocheder used a similar series of diagrams to illustrate these principles. In the first, illustrating a "convex" system, open space flows around a free-standing building. **[Fig. 5.14]** Since the viewer's lines of vision hit the scene's architectural surfaces unevenly and at irregular distances, they are forced to expend mental effort to regularize the composition. The other two diagrams, where the viewer's lines of vision are of almost

⁴⁶ The literature on Sitte is vast. For recent engagements with the aesthetic dimensions of his work, see Karin Wilhelm and Detlef Jessen-Klingenberg, eds., *Formationen der Stadt: Camillo Sitte weitergelesen* (Berlin: Bauverlag, 2006); Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Charles C. Bohl and Jean-Francois Lejeune, eds., *Sitte, Hegemann and the Metropolis: Modern Civic Art and International Exchanges* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009); Ákos Moravánsky, "Camillo Sitte: Romantic or Realist? The Picturesque City Reconsidered," *East Central Europe* 33, no.1/2 (2006): 293-308; Andrew Herscher, "Städtebau as Imperial Culture: Camillo Sitte's Urban Plan for Ljubljana," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 2 (June, 2003): 212-227; Wolfgang Sonne, "'The Entire City shall be Planned as a Work of Art': Städtebau als Kunst im frühen modernen Uranismus, 1890-1920," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66, no. 2 (2003): 207-236; Klaus Semsroth, Kari Jormakka, and Bernhard Langer, *Kunst des Städtebaus: Neue Perspektiven auf Camillo Sitte* (Wien, Köln, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2005); Michael Mönninger, *Vom Ornament zum Nationalkunstwerk. Zur Kunst- und Architekturtheorie Camillo Sittes* (Braunschweig and Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1998); Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space: Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000). One of the best general accounts of Sitte's work remains George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte and the Birth of Modern City Planning* (London: Phaidon, 1965).

⁴⁷ Camillo Sitte, *Der Städte Bau nach seinen künstlerischen grundsätzen* (C. Graeser, 1889). Sitte's book has been translated into English as Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* (Dover, 2006).

equal length, portray a more enjoyable aesthetic experience. These illustrate what Hocheder called a “concave” condition. This led Hocheder to a second distinction between “amphitheatrical” (“*amphitheatralisch*”) space and “concave” space. As illustrated by church structures such as the cathedral at Mainz or the *Stiftskirche* in Aschaffenburg, the amphitheatrical experience of urban space relates to the perception of built-up effects in the vertical dimension. Concave spaces, on the other hand, focusing the visual rays of the subject. Hocheder traced this condition in a series of examples from antiquity to the seventeenth century. As opposed to the market square in Braunschweig, which was disengaged from the surrounding architectural fabric and floated in the middle of the square, urban ensembles such as the one around the Baroque cathedral in Salzburg focused vision through “closed” and “hollow” squares.⁴⁸

For Hocheder, the Baroque was the last historical epoch to uphold the spatial value of architecture. In a lecture delivered at the *Technischen Hochschule* in Munich in 1909, he explained, “While in the Baroque and Rococo the art of space (*Raumkunst*) celebrated its highest triumphs and upheld these rules not merely with regard to neighboring buildings but also with their widest surroundings.”⁴⁹ The legacy of the Baroque, however, had been forgotten. “For almost an entire century,” he argued, “both the self-conscious philosophical aesthetics and the unconscious feelings of the masses

⁴⁸ For a similar study of concave space-making in the Baroque, see A. E. Brinckmann, “Die Piazza di San Ignazio in Rom,” *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, no. 93 (November 18, 1911): 580-581.

⁴⁹ Karl Hocheder, “Gesichtssinn und baukünstlerisches Schaffen: Festrede gehalten bei der Akademischen Feier der K. Technischen Hochschule zu München am 7. Dezember 1909,” In: *Königliche Technische Hochschule zu München, Bericht über das Studienjahr 1909-1910* (München: Akademische Buchdruckerei von F. Straub, 1911), 15. The lecture constituted a culminating statement of Hocheder’s interest in space since the late-1880’s.

had lost a feeling for the actual spatial value of architecture.”⁵⁰ It was only in the final decade of the nineteenth century that a feeling for space began to filter back into architectural discourse. In this way, Hocheder’s story of the rediscovery of space in architecture paralleled the rediscovery of the Baroque.

Hocheder was, in fact, himself an important participant in the resurgence of the Baroque style in Munich. Based on multiple church designs for city, as well as in his *Müller’sches Volksbad* and *Verkehrsministerium* building, critics described his buildings as expressing a “*Hocheder Barock*.” In addition to his embrace of the “*münchnerisch*” qualities of the style, Hocheder’s use of the Baroque stemmed directly from the ideas in his lectures. His design for a new town hall in Bolzano, for example, illustrated the beneficial effects of framed space. The building was located in the center of Bolzano at the meeting point of two main roads. According to commentators, at the same time that the animated façade, curved corners, and prominent corner tower of the building spoke to the historical migration of the Italian Baroque through Alpine towns on their way north to Germany, its creation of a wall-like delimitation at the end of the plaza drew the eye across space. This resulted in an “amplification of visual effect.”⁵¹

Hocheder’s interest in Baroque concavity was also central to his design for the Bavarian Ministry of Transport Building in Munich, built from 1905-13. In many ways, the building emerged as a culmination of Hocheder’s theories of space. Located on a difficult site immediately north of the railroad tracks of the main train station called the

⁵⁰ Karl Hocheder, “Gesichtsinne und baukünstlerisches Schaffen: Festrede gehalten bei der Akademischen Feier der K. Technischen Hochschule zu München am 7. Dezember 1909,” 15.

⁵¹ S. Langenberger, “Das neue Rathaus in Bozen,” *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 55, vol. 9 (July 1910): 366.

“Maffei Meadow”, the building housed a number of recently combined governmental departments, including offices for Bavaria’s railroad system, telegraph communications, and post office.⁵² Hocheder’s plan created its own viewpoints and perspectives. The height of the building’s monumental dome was carefully calculated so that it could be seen from the surrounding area. This cast the structure into what Hocheder described as a vertical, “amphitheatrical” relationship with the city at large.

The plan of the building was focused on three monumental interior courts. Hocheder envisioned each of the interior courts as closed rooms that drew the gaze of the viewer towards a monumental architectural feature such as a grand staircase. Articulated with rounded corners and slightly undulating enclosing walls, each of the major courts functioned as a visual set piece within the circulation axes of the complex. Hocheder’s close attention to the perceptual conditions of the building extended to the exterior as well. Each side of the building provided a strong visual termination to the viewer’s perspective from the surrounding streets. As can be seen in photographs, the building’s secondary entrances appeared as architectural exclamation points at the end narrow apartment-lined side streets. The undulating walls and elliptical forecourts carved into the each side of the building reflected Hocheder’s interest in concave spaces. This was especially pronounced on the monumental *Arnulfstrasse* side of the building, where Hocheder created a semi-enclosed court focused on the main entryway.⁵³

⁵² One critic explained, “The former *Maffei-Anger*, in immediate proximity to the train station with its thick emission of smoke, offers a setting that is not in itself pleasing for a monumental building.” “Das neue Dienstgebäude des bayerischen Verkehrsministeriums in München,” *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 31 (April 19, 1913): 208.

⁵³ Hocheder’s design for main entry court recalls two influential architectural schemes from the nineteenth century by Semper – the 1841 plan for the completion of the Zwinger courtyard in Dresden and, together with Karl von Hasenauer, the 1869 plan for an Imperial Forum in Vienna. In both of these projects, Semper created monumental urban forums that resonated with their immediate Baroque precedents – in the case of

Space and Movement

By the time that the Department of Transportation Building was completed, the project had become the subject of pointed critique. Hocheder's desire to connect with local Baroque traditions was seen by some critics as inadequate in an urban context defined by industrial buildings and train tracks. The architect Hermann Sörgel complained, "With its lightless dome and Baroque look-out towers, the Ministry of Transport offers little sense of a building for modern transportation in the middle of an active, industrial hustle and bustle."⁵⁴ More importantly, however, Sörgel argued that Hocheder's direct translation of Hildebrand's theories into architecture incorrectly assumed that the viewer perceives space from an ideal, stationary perspective. The idea of "*Bildwirkung*" failed to account for the centrality of movement in the experience of architecture.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the distinction between stationary relief space and a conception of space keyed to the moving viewer was a central point of debate in art historical investigations of the Baroque. This can be clearly seen in Schmarsow's influential theory of "*Raumgestaltung*."⁵⁵ In an autobiographical essay, Schmarsow

Dresden with Daniel Pöppelmann's never-completed design for the Zwinger and in the case of Vienna with Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's design for the concave *Michaelertrakt* of the Royal Palace. For an account of the development of these schemes, see Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁵⁴ Hermann Sörgel, *Architektur-Ästhetik: Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Baukunst* (München: Piloty & Loehle, 1918), 224.

⁵⁵ Several scholars have pointed to the importance of Schmarsow's ideas in the formation of "modern" notions of space. See, for example, Mitchell W. Schwarzer, "The Emergence of Architectural Space: August Schmarsow's Theory of '*Raumgestaltung*,'" *Assemblage*, no. 15 (August 1991): 48-61; Christof

recounted that he was first drawn to the psychological dimensions of architectural space while lecturing at Göttingen in 1883. At this time, he came into contact with Hermann Lotze and was teaching Semper's *Der Stil* to students in his seminars.⁵⁶ Schmarsow's investigation of space culminated in his inaugural address entitled "*Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung*," delivered as the new chair of art history at Leipzig in 1893.⁵⁷ In the address, he argued that architecture was, at its most fundamental level, the "creatress of space" ("*Raumgestalterin*").⁵⁸ "From the troglodyte's cave to the Arab's tent," he exclaimed, "from the long processional avenue of the Egyptian pilgrimage temple to the Greek god's glorious column-borne roof; from the Caribbean hut to the German Reichstag Building – we can say in the most general terms that they are all without exception spatial constructs (*Raumgebilde*)."⁵⁹

Thoenes, "Die Formen sind in Bewegung geraten': Zum Verständnis der Architektur Borrominis," *Daidalos* 67 (March 1998): 62-73; Cornelis van de Ven, "Ideas of Space in German Architectural Theory, 1850-1930," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 9, no. 2/3 (1977): 30-39. Schmarsow's discussions of three-dimensionality, space, and the viewer can be seen in the following writings: "Ueber der Werth der Dimensionen im menschlichen Raumgebilde," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 48 (1896): 44-61; "Raumgestaltung als Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1914): 66-95; "Rhythmus in menschlichen Raumgebilden," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 14, no. 2 (1920): 171-187; "Zur Bedeutung des Tiefenerlebnisses im Raumgebilde," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 15, no. 1 (1921): 104-109.

⁵⁶ He described, "So las ich 1883 zum ersten Male meine Einleitung in die Kunstwissenschaft vom psychologisch orientierten Gesichtspunkt aus, und trat mit der Lehre von der Architektur als 'Raumgestalterin' hervor, die mir in Ringen mit Gottfried Sempers unvollendet gebliebenem Werk über den Stil aufgegangen war." August Schmarsow, "Rückschau beim Eintritt ins siebzigste Lebensjahr," in *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellung*, ed. Johannes Jahn (Meiner, 1924), 141.

⁵⁷ August Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1894). The address has been translated into English as: August Schmarsow, "The Essence of Architectural Creation," in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*, ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 281-298.

⁵⁸ August Schmarsow. "The Essence of Architectural Creation," 286.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 286.

In his emphasis on space, Schmarsow rejected the empathetic connection between the body and form articulated in the writings of Wölfflin. Nevertheless, he considered the body as a primary agent in spatial experience. According to Schmarsow, architectural space developed from the subject outwards as an extension of a “*Spielraum*” defined by the dimensions of the body. From the worm that tunnels its way through an apple to the human navigating a building, the major directional axes that delimit the body’s extension – vertical, horizontal, and forwards into depth – were also the primary coordinates of architectural space. Schmarsow aligned each of the three main axes of the human body with a corresponding “principle of form” (“*Gestaltungsprinzip*”). The first dimension (height) relates to proportionality, the second (width) to symmetry, and the third (depth) to directionality and rhythmic movement. These become what Schmarsow called the “psychological roots” of sculpture, painting, and architecture. The vertical axis, which follows the line of the human body from head to toe, was directly expressed in works of sculpture. Horizontal extension, or the “next-to-each-other of things in space”, was the expressive terrain of painting. Architecture, in turn, related to the dimension of depth. Schmarsow argued, “It carries itself in the direction of our forward movement (*Vorwärtsgehen*), forward engagement (*Vorwärtshantieren*), and forward vision (*Vorwärtssehens*) – therefore, in the third dimension.”⁶⁰ Each of these activities signaled the intimate connection between movement and architectural space. Schmarsow described, “We cannot express its relation to ourselves in any way other than by imagining that we are in motion, measuring the length, width, and depth, or by attributing to the static lines, surfaces, and volumes the movement that our eyes and our kinaesthetic

⁶⁰ Ibid., 286.

sensations suggest to us, even though we survey the dimensions while standing still.”⁶¹

This was provided a direct contrast to theories of space based on a stationary perspective into depth.

In this way, Schmarsow argued that the history of architecture could be articulated according to “space styles” (“*Raumstile*”). Each grew from the subject’s own innate sense for a “feeling of space” (“*Raumgefühle*”). In an 1896 essay, Schmarsow even insisted that whoever “does not recognize the value of dimensions in the arts of spatial intuition (*räumlicher Anschauung*)... drifts about in the ocean of art history without a compass.”⁶² In his book *Barock und Rokoko*, Schmarsow used this compass to navigate the changing character of the Baroque from Michelangelo to the Rococo.⁶³ Conceived as a review of Wölfflin’s *Renaissance und Barock*, Schmarsow interrogated the frequent application of the term “*malerisch*” to the Baroque. At the beginning of the book, he argued that whether applied to the relief work of the Hellenistic Baroque or to Wölfflin’s conception of movement in the historical Baroque, the transposition of the aesthetic effects of painting onto architecture was the source of a considerable

⁶¹ Ibid., 291.

⁶² August Schmarsow, “Ueber der Werth der Dimensionen im menschlichen Raumgebilde,” *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 48 (1896): 61.

⁶³ August Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1897). Schmarsow’s investigation of the Baroque constituted the second in a series of three books under the overarching title *Beiträge zur Aesthetik der bildenden Künste* (*Contributions to the Aesthetics of the Fine Arts*). Stemming from seminars that he was teaching during these years on theoretical issues in art, each volume revolved around an interrogation of recent theoretical and historical writings related to a single medium. In the first book, published in 1896 as *Zur Frage nach dem Malerischen* (*On the Question of the Malerisch*), Schmarsow discussed the nature of painting through an examination of the painter Max Klinger’s *Malerei und Zeichnung* (*Painting and Drawing*). The third volume of the series, published in 1899 with the title *Malerei, Plastik, und Reliefkunst* (*Painting, Sculpture, and the Art of Relief*), dealt with the theories of sculpture contained in Hildebrand’s *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst*. Many contemporary reviewers noted the close link between Schmarsow’s discussion of the Baroque and his other writings on the aesthetics of space. See, for example W. v. O. “Zur Kunstgeschichte,” *Die Grenzboten* 56 (1897): 157-158.

“*Begriffsverwirrung*”, or conceptual confusion, amongst art historians. By the time of the publication, painterliness and plasticity were used interchangeably by art historians to denote the “moving” effects of the Baroque. Addressing this confusion became a major goal in Schmarsow’s investigation. More than a simple issue of semantics, however, this called for a fundamental reconceptualization of the way art historians approached the question of how a viewer experiences a work of architecture.

Although he agreed with nineteenth century art historical convention in assigning Michelangelo a foundational role in the development of the Baroque, Schmarsow deviated from authors like Wölfflin who attributed a sense of “*malerisch*” movement to Michelangelo’s work. Instead, Schmarsow claimed that Michelangelo was by nature a sculptor. His architectural compositions resulted from the “*Hochdrang*” (“upward impulse”) that was a defining characteristic of that form of art.⁶⁴ It was only with the appearance of Bernini that the *plastisch* principles of Michelangelo’s Baroque were replaced with *malerisch* effects. This, for Schmarsow, constituted the style’s “*Glanzperiode*,” ushering in “an inner-change in the fundamental principles... of the style.”⁶⁵ According to Schmarsow, an emphasis on horizontal expansion in Bernini’s work could be detected in projects like the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, begun in 1664.

Bernini’s colonnade at St. Peter’s utilized and even more striking horizontality to instill

⁶⁴ In his discussion of Michelangelo’s contribution to St. Peter’s in Rome, he contends, “The main point that must be grasped in order to understand this artistic creation is the absolute dominance of the vertical. The innermost connection exists between upwardly directed vertical force and the material mass of the building. This unity of spatial development is satisfactorily explained only in the conception of verticality as the axis of growth, just as with organic bodies (*organischen Geschöpfe*) that grow up out of the ground, therefore in a final consolidation of all concepts of organization that go back to the innermost core of spatial construction... The creative idea of the sculptor, to design spatial volumes and bodily masses, prevails from here out.” Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur*, 91.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 194.

in the viewer a sense of painterly effects. Schmarsow argued that this “conscious exploitation of the horizontal dimension” was “the beginning of a new direction.”⁶⁶

Borromini, on the other hand, exemplified a return to the sculptural tendency of the Baroque. According to Schmarsow, Borromini’s churches introduced an overwhelming sense of movement – a “*Bewegungsdurst*” – to the Baroque. His buildings had the effect of a “surging of form” that directly suggested organic processes. In a description of the elastic expansion and contraction of *St. Ivo*, Schmarsow stated, “Systole and diastole alternate with each other and, rising at an ever-greater tempo, create lighter and thinner levels – but also increase sculptural details and dilute the material towards full transparency – all the way up to the final gasp in the jubilant cry of the pinnacle.”⁶⁷

For Schmarsow, this conception of architectural space was far from a concern internal to art historical debates. His articulation of space was a programmatic gesture aimed at architects as well. In his autobiography, he noted that at the time of his lecture, the idea of space “brought an insight to light that in all of the imitation of past styles by our architecture schools and architectural historians appeared to have vanished from consciousness, since they only knew how to calculate with building elements and speak about dressing (*Einkleidung*).”⁶⁸ He hoped that architects “could be taught to once again be open to the satisfaction of their own creations and experiences through spatial

⁶⁶ Ibid., 194.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 259.

⁶⁸ Schmarsow, “Rückschau beim Eintritt ins siebzigste Lebensjahr,” 146.

constructions (*Raumgebilde*), and through the joy of this human work to invoke in the artist as well as the connoisseur a new delight in creation.”⁶⁹

Schmarsow’s ideas were, in fact, closely followed by architects. In reviews, he was often criticized for the unnecessary complexity of his writing style and his attempt to directly import aesthetic theories into art historical methodology. Riegl even complained that the complexity and bombast of Schmarsow’s writings were an embodiment of the Baroque itself.⁷⁰ Similarly, the art historian Franz Wickhoff described, “I was never a diligent reader of Schmarsow’s writings, they didn’t offer me anything. When he began with aesthetic works, I nonetheless thought to myself that I should take a look at something from them. I picked up ‘*Barock und Rokoko*’ and read page 7: ‘The will-to-space is the living soul of architectural form. The beginning of this activity lies already in the worm, which tunnels his way through the little house of the apple.’ ... I closed the book with a snap and left the worm in the house of the apple and Schmarsow in the little house of aesthetics.”⁷¹

At the same time, Schmarsow’s theories of space provided a fruitful direction for architects interested in the potential contribution of psychological aesthetics to design. According to Alfred Lichtwark, the art historian’s words “were themselves a proud building, in whose wide and high halls condensed air of the strongest oxygen content

⁶⁹ Ibid., p146.

⁷⁰ He wrote, “The volume contains no images, and the descriptions are so turgid and bombastic that even an expert has difficulty reading it. (Renaissance style is often defined as a clear harmony of all the parts, and the Baroque a heavy and confused struggle of various parts among one another. If this is correct, then Wölfflin is writing in a Renaissance style and Schmarsow in a Baroque style.) Beginners are strongly dissuaded from reading the latter as they will waste their time.” Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, 102.

⁷¹ Franz Wickhoff, “Besprechung von A. Schmarsow: Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft.” *Kunstgeschichtlicher Anzeiger* 2 (1905): 103-106.

could be breathed.”⁷² In a review of Schmarsow’s Leipzig address for the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, the architect Bruno Specht praised Schmarsow for his attempt to instill greater rigor and precision to the importation of “speculative aesthetics” into architecture.⁷³ According to Specht, Schmarsow’s emphasis on the “psychical origin of architectural creation and enjoyment” constituted an important contribution to architectural discourse.⁷⁴

In his investigations of “*Raumgefühl*” and “*Raumgestaltung*”, Schmarsow moved architecture away from a concern with tectonics. This was the focus of a long analysis of Schmarsow’s ideas by the architect Richard Streiter. As noted above, Streiter was a close friend and colleague of Rieth and Schmaltz from their days in the Wallot office. Streiter’s engagement with the art historian came in the form of a heated debate with the Halle-based *Landbauinspektor* Karl Illert that unfolded in the pages of the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*. Spanning four separate issues of the journal from December 1896 to February 1897, the debate centered on the relevance of Schmarsow’s writings for architects. The back-and-forth between Streiter and Illert became so intense, in fact, that after two lengthy counter-responses from each author, the editor of the *Centralblatt* felt obliged to write a special note of his own. He explained that no foreseeable agreement between the two opponents could be found. Moreover, the debate had left behind its original connection to the work of Schmarsow, expanding to include “questions about the origin of art and the appropriateness of the word ‘art’ itself.”

⁷² As recounted by Schmarsow himself. See August Schmarsow, “Rückschau beim Eintritt ins siebzigste Lebensjahr,” 146.

⁷³ Bruno Specht, “Raumkunst,” *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 29 (1895): 501-504.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p501.

The series of articles began with a scathing review by Illert of *Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung*. According to Illert, aside from Schmarsow's shortcomings as a writer, his discussion of buildings in terms of artistic effects undermined architecture's defining relation to purpose. In a direct rebuttal entitled "*Architektur und Kunstphilosophie*", Streiter sought to defend the aesthetic foundation of Schmarsow's project and prove its relevance to an architectural audience.⁷⁵ Although Streiter agreed with Illert that Schmarsow's obtuse writing style and elusive neologisms diminished the effectiveness of his arguments, he insisted that Schmarsow's ideas of body and space constituted a major contribution to architecture. With this in mind, much of his response consisted of a translation of Schmarsow's ideas into a language more easily understood by architects. He explained that the most basic stimulus for Schmarsow's investigation into *Raumgefühl* was the old question, "Can architecture be counted as one of the so-called 'fine arts' or not?" After a brief survey of contributions to this problem by Aristotle, Batteux (who he calls "the French Aristotle"), Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, Streiter concluded that the answer was a resounding "*ja!*"⁷⁶ In response to Illert's related complaint that Schmarsow allowed for even the lowliest of enclosures into his definition of architecture, Streiter argued that every impulse towards building automatically brings with it the "germs of artistic composition" ("*die Keime zu künstlerischer Gestaltung*"). These lie directly in the ideas of *Raumgefühl* and *Raumphantasie*.⁷⁷ According to Streiter, this was precisely the point. He agreed with Schmarsow that every impulse

⁷⁵ Richard Streiter, "Architektur und Kunstphilosophie," *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, no. 50 (December 12, 1896): 550-553.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 551.

⁷⁷ Illert asked, "According to such a point of view, what would prevent the hamster's hole, the badger's den, or the fox's den from entering into the examination?" *Ibid.*, 551.

towards building automatically brings with it the “germs of artistic composition” (“*die Keime zu künstlerischer Gestaltung*”).⁷⁸ This was directly related to the faculties of *Raumgefühl* and *Raumphantasie*, which form the basis of architecture considered as an art.

Streiter’s main point of contention related to the application of psychological aesthetics to architecture. He had just published his dissertation on Carl Bötticher’s *Tektonik der Hellenen* under the supervision of Theodor Lipps. Streiter complained that anything related to a “philosophical” approach was immediately treated with suspicion by architects. This resulted from two general tendencies – the dominance of the methods of natural science in the nineteenth century and the continuing legacy of Idealist philosophy in architecture, which he accused of operating in the “baseless realm of metaphysical dreams.”⁷⁹

It should be noted that Hocheder too used his investigations into space as a refutation of Bötticher. In his lecture “*Gesichtsinn und baukünstlerisches Schaffen*,” he explained that the forces of support, weight, thrust, rising, pulling, and enclosing could not be expressed symbolically through ornamentation. Architects could only reconnect with the fundamental “*Raumwert*” (“spatial quality”) of their art by understanding decoration as a “pure adornment form.”⁸⁰ This was related to what Hocheder called the “post-Kantian” conception of the “interplay between the subject – the viewer – and the

⁷⁸ Ibid., 552.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 552.

⁸⁰ Karl Hocheder, “Gesichtsinn und baukünstlerisches Schaffen: Festrede gehalten bei der Akademischen Feier der K. Technischen Hochschule zu München am 7. Dezember 1909,” 15.

object – the viewed.”⁸¹ Understood as a space-shaping activity (*raumgesaltende Tätigkeit*), architecture is independent from any idea of function. As opposed to columns, cornices, and profiles, which emerge from the constructional requirements of the building, spatial values relate entirely to the perceptual capacity of the subject.

Streiter celebrated the same shift towards the perceiving subject in Schmarsow’s work. In his critique of Illert’s review, he observed that the status of absolutist approaches to architecture – which he attributed to the “enthroned Queen named Philosophy” – had begun to be replaced in recent decades with a different kind of aesthetic enquiry. Rather than proceeding from the lofty realm of Hegelian dialectics, this new approach was rooted in the more empirical findings of psychology. Streiter locates this promising perspective on architecture in the work of Hermann Lotze and Theodor Fechner’s substitution of the old “aesthetics from above” with a new “aesthetics from below.” This, for Streiter, was the conceptual background to Schmarsow’s own parallel attempt within art history to develop an architectural aesthetic “from within.”

Schmalz’s *Land- und Amts-Gericht I*

The architectural potential that Streiter located in Schmarsow’s theories of *Körperbewegung* was directly expressed in Otto Schmalz’s design at the end of the nineteenth century for the *Land- und Amts-Gericht I*, Berlin’s central court building. Like the Reichstag Building before it, the commission for this project resulted from the re-organization of German political and legal systems following the founding of the Empire in 1871. The political unification of Germany was accompanied by the unification and

⁸¹ Ibid., 15.

liberalization of the legal system. This resulted in the adoption of the so-called “*Reichsjustizgesetze*” by the *Reichstag* in January 1877.⁸² As part of this legislation, courts were consolidated and reorganized according to four hierarchical categories: “*Amtsgerichte*” (“municipal courts”), “*Landgerichte*” (“regional courts”), “*Oberlandesgerichte*” (“higher regional court”), and the “*Reichstgericht*” (“national court”).

In response this restructuring, several new court buildings were commissioned across Germany from the late-1870’s through the turn of the century.⁸³ This complex new network of buildings was anchored by the central national courthouse in Leipzig, designed by the architect Ludwig Hoffmann and built from 1888-1895.⁸⁴ The wave of new construction in Germany reflected a much wider phenomenon in Europe. Beginning with Joseph-Louis Duc’s work in the second half of the nineteenth century on the *Palais de Justice* in Paris and Joseph Poelaert’s monumental central court building in Brussels

⁸² In many ways an expansion of Hanover’s liberal Code of Civil Procedure of 1850, this new legislation took effect in October 1879. The importance of this part of the new legislation lay in its nullification of the persistence of noble privilege in German law and its guarantee of rights originally missing from the Constitution of 1871. For accounts of the *Reichsjustizgesetze*, see Paul Kayser, *Reichsjustizgesetze: die gesammten und die für das Reich und in Preussen erlassenen Ausführungs- und Ergänzungsgesetze* (1882); Ernst Rudolf Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789: Bismarck und das Reich* (Kohlhammer, 1990); Andreas Roth, *Kriminalitätsbekämpfung in deutschen Großstädten, 1850 – 1914* (Erich Schmidt, 1997).

⁸³ These included *Justizpaläste* in Frankfurt (1884-89) by Friedrich Endell, in Cologne (1884-93) by Friedrich Endell and Paul Thoemer, in Munich by Friedrich von Thiersch, and in Stuttgart (1875-79) by Theodor von Landauer. For a survey of the history of court buildings in Germany both before and after the establishment of the *Reichsjustizgesetze*, see Peter Landau, “Reichsjustizgesetze und Justizpaläste,” in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich: Kunst im Wandel der Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, ed. Ekkehard Mai, Hans Pohl, and Steven Waetzoldt (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982), 197-223.

⁸⁴ The design and construction of this building was closely followed by the German architectural press. In 1898, Hoffmann produced a richly illustrated publication documenting the project. See Ludwig Hoffmann, *Der Reichsgerichtsbau zu Leipzig. Gesamt-ansichten und einzelheiten nach den mit maassen versehenen original-zeichnungen der facaden und der innenräume, sowie naturaufnahmen der bemerkenswerthesten theile dieses in den jahren 1887 bis 1895 errichteten gebäudes* (Berlin and New York: B. Hessling, 1898). For an account of Hoffmann’s design, see Thomas G. Dorsch, *Der Reichsgerichtsbau in Leipzig: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit einer Staatsarchitektur* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1999).

(1866-83), these included Alexander von Wielemann *Justizpalast* in Vienna (1875-81) and Guglielmo Calderini's *Palazzo de Giustizia* in Rome (1880-1911).⁸⁵ Each of these buildings invoked the building type of the palace in order to express the importance of newly restructured legal systems and increased public openness following European nationalization movements.

For the 1887 edition of Josef Durm's *Handbuch der Architektur*, Theodor von Landauer contributed an entire section on the principles and history of German court building design.⁸⁶ Landauer proposed a series of guidelines for this new type of official building. He determined the precise layout of courtrooms according to their function within the judiciary system. Since the judicial system had become a public process following the passage of the *Reichsjustizgesetze*, public areas were of special importance.⁸⁷ According to Landauer, this was most prevalent in urban courthouses, which often combined the functions of multiple courts into a single monumental structure. He argued that from the French tradition of the *Salle de pas perdu* to the evolution of the monumental *Wartehalle* in German examples, spaces of public exchange

⁸⁵ For an account of the *Palais de Justice*, see Katherine Fischer Taylor, *In the Theater of Criminal Justice: The Palais de Justice in Second Empire Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For Poelaert's court house, see *Poeleart et son temps* (Crédit communal de Belgique, 1980). For Calderini's *Palazzo de Giustizia*, see Marcello Fabbri and Augusto de Luca, eds., *Il Palazzo di giustizia di Roma* (Roma: Gangemi, 2002).

⁸⁶ Theodor von Landauer, *Gebäude für Verwaltung, Rechtspflege und Gesetzgebung* (Stuttgart: Arnold Bergstruasser, 1900). Based on his design of the main court building in Stuttgart, Landauer had considerable expertise in the subject.

⁸⁷ Landauer noted, "For the arrangement and dimensioning of the rooms of the different court buildings, it is most important to consider that they should be adapted to the law of public procedure." Theodor von Landauer, *Gebäude für Verwaltung, Rechtspflege und Gesetzgebung*, 239.

(but also of control) had become as important in the court building as they were in the theater.⁸⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, court buildings became a fertile ground for architectural experimentation within the context of Berlin's Ministry for Public Works. In addition to expressing the importance of a liberal legal system in German society, commissions for monumental new *Justizpaläste* across the city's districts represented Berlin's powerful place in the Empire. Many of these projects were designed by the team of Paul Thoemer and Rudolf Mönnich. In Berlin alone, they were responsible for at least eight separate courthouses, totaling almost twenty-three million Marks.⁸⁹ One author suggested that their activity "could only be compared to the *Bauhütten* of the Middle Ages."⁹⁰ Although their designs assumed a variety of historical styles ranging from the Gothic of Wedding to the German Renaissance of Weißensee, each followed the general formula illustrated by Landauer in his book – a main entry vestibule and waiting hall leading off on both sides to expansive wings featuring courtrooms, offices, and other supporting spaces.

Thoemer and Mönnich were responsible for the early design stages of the *Land- und Amtsgericht I* as well. **[Fig. 5.15]** By the project's completion in 1904, after a full decade of construction, it was the single largest building in Berlin after the Royal Palace.

⁸⁸ As an example of the overpowering dimensions of public spaces in Germany's new court buildings, Landauer made reference to the central waiting area of Hoffmann's Neo-Renaissance *Reichsgericht* in Leipzig.

⁸⁹ These included projects in Moabit (1902-06), Lichtenberg (1903), Pankow (1902-06), Schöneberg (1901-06), Wedding (1901-06), Weißensee (1902-06), and Charlottenburg (1901-06). With the exception of Charlottenburg, which was a regional court (*Landgericht*), most of these were municipal courts (*Amtsgerichte*) tied to their corresponding districts. Thoemer and Mönnich's previous work on similar buildings in Stettin and Cologne made court buildings a particular specialty.

⁹⁰ *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 1922, p70.

According to popular accounts, the building was a veritable “city of justice” in and of itself.⁹¹ The courthouse was located on a long site bordered by the elevated tracks of the *Stadtbahn* as they snaked their way towards the busy station at *Alexanderplatz*.⁹² In 1894, Thoemer conceived a preliminary design for the project that would become the general roadmap for future construction. He called for the completion of the courthouse in two sections. The first, facing the *Grunerstrasse*, was finished in 1900. The second, along the *Neue Friedrichstrasse*, opened in 1905. [Fig. 5.16]

Marked by separate entry pavilions, the two distinct sections of the project housed a small *Landgericht* and a larger *Amtsgericht*.⁹³ Although originally planned with “extensive frugality and restraint”, these main entrances and the sequence of public spaces behind them became the subject of increased elaboration during subsequent design phases.⁹⁴ This was undoubtedly due at least partially to the increased input of Schmalz, whose fascination with Baroque prototypes lent itself naturally to heightened architectural expression. As the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* put it, “It was first and foremost

⁹¹ Throughout its design and construction, the building was closely followed in the architectural press. In 1901, a correspondent for the journal *Berliner Architekturwelt* explained, “For a long time, no monumental building constructed for public purposes has aroused the interest of the general public as well as professionals and experts in Berlin like the new Palace of Justice near *Alexanderplatz*.” “Zu unseren Bildern: Architektur,” *Berliner Architekturwelt* 3 (1901), 303.

⁹² On its other sides, the building was circumscribed by the *Neue Friedrichstrasse* and the *Grunerstrasse*. The land was formerly the location of a cadet school. When the *Kadettenanstalt* was moved to the *Groß-Lichterfelde* section of Berlin, the land was cleared and re-purposed for the court building.

⁹³ The entryway of the latter was situated directly across the street from the remains of the thirteenth century Franciscan *Klosterkirche*.

⁹⁴ This was in part related to an advisory report by the *Akademie des Bauwesens* that called for an amplification of the project’s facades and ceremonial rooms in a way that befit an institution of such importance.

here that the art of Otto Schmalz could be introduced like a sweeping symphonic orchestra (*ein rauschendes symphonisches Orchester*).⁹⁵

Schmalz's involvement in the project is immediately visible on the exterior of the building.⁹⁶ The most immediate impact of the court building's exterior resulted from its monumental stone towers and entry portals. The two tall corner towers that flanked the entrance to the *Grunerstrasse* side of the structure anchored the building in its surrounding urban landscape and provided a point of focus for passing *Stadtbahn* passengers. At the same time, the immense projections at the center of both main facades drew attention to the location of the portals. At street level, the main portal of the building thrusts into the space of the sidewalk as if squeezed between the two columns situated to either side. This effect is amplified by the thick cornice that emphasizes the façade's transitions between convex and concave. Above the horizontal line of the cornice, a sequence of layered pilasters, sculptures, and pinnacles leads the eye up towards the towers set behind the main datum of the façade.

Whether seen obliquely from the narrow approach along the *Neue Friedrichstrasse* or from the perspective of a moving train, Schmalz sought to draw attention to the courthouse through a contrast between areas of punctuated decoration and long expanses of relatively plain surfaces.⁹⁷ In addition to the contrast between the

⁹⁵ "Zum Gedächtnis von Otto Schmalz," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 41, no. 82 (October 12, 1907): 573.

⁹⁶ Roughly one third of the structure was torn down in the 1960's to make way for the extension of *Grunerstrasse*. An accurate idea of the original building can be obtained, however, from documentation in the architecture archives at the *Technische Universität* in Berlin as well as the surviving section of the building that includes Schmalz's monumental stair hall for the *Amtsgericht*.

⁹⁷ This tactic could be seen as an outgrowth of Schmalz's experience in the Wallot office, where, as seen in chapter two, the development of *Constrastwirkungen* in architecture was adopted from Baroque compositional techniques.

building's richly decorated projections and the less boldly articulated surfaces between them, Schmalz reinforced the composition of the façade with a secondary system of ornamentation. In the final design, almost 105,000 square feet of plaster and stucco work covered the stretches of the facade between the building's projections. Schmalz developed a highly refined theory of the "*Putzfacade*" ("Plaster façade") in his execution of the project. Stripes, pilaster shapes, and other abstract decorative forms drawn with a stencil and applied with a smooth plaster were inserted into rough textured fields. In a series of articles for the *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, Schmalz explained the technical details and aesthetic dimensions of this "*Mörtelputz*" system.⁹⁸ He described his experiments with different mixtures of sand and chalk, as well as with application and setting techniques. In re-conceiving the plaster techniques of vernacular architecture in Tirol and the upper Bavarian countryside for an urban context, Schmalz attempted to avoid both the dull look of a uniform surface and the over-ornateness of Berlin's "*Scheinarchitektur*." The interplay of shapes, the movement of light and shadow arising from changes in texture, and changes in surface color resulting from moisture and rain accentuated the dynamism of the façade. Evoking Semper's description of the spatial characteristics of textiles, Schmalz described the "silhouette" effects resulting from his technique as "*teppichartig*", or "carpet-like."⁹⁹

Schmalz's conception for the courthouse's exterior was directly inspired by the eighteenth century architecture of Southern Germany and Austria. Rather, however, than

⁹⁸ See Otto Schmalz, "Zur Beurteilung des Wertes von Kalken für die Verwendung beim Bauten," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 1 (1 January 1906): 6-8; Otto Schmalz, "Die Ausbildung des Mörtelputzes beim Neubau des Land- und Amtsgerichts I in Berlin," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* 11 (February 3, 1906): 76-79.

⁹⁹ Schmalz, "Zur Beurteilung des Wertes von Kalken für die Verwendung beim Bauten," 7.

replicate individual monuments, he sought to recombine his sources into new compositions. One critic declared:

In the composition as well as in the detailing of the façade, the architects held to the motifs of the Baroque style, especially that of Southern Germany. However in the formation of the details one becomes everywhere aware that they independently designed every member and every piece of ornamentation in a fully modern spirit, so that the old decorative forms have been permeated with new life.¹⁰⁰

Another writer commented that the entire building literally “breathed” with the individuality of Schmalz’s approach.¹⁰¹ Like Rieth’s sketches, the court’s façade took on the character of a body. “The front of the building,” the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* suggested, “appears to have the countenance of a body; the windows appear like the watchful organs of justice that overlook the life of the street.”¹⁰² Connecting Schmalz’s architecture with the citizens it served, Hans Schliepmann even described the structure as a “nervous body.”¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ “Zu unseren Bildern: Architektur,” 303. Another writer described, “*Das Allegro appassionato seines glänzenden Vortrages reißt hin; ihn gegenüber erscheinen die Bauten Ludwig Hoffmanns als kühle Überlegung und verständiges Maßhalten.*” *Berliner Architekturwelt* (1905), 12.

¹⁰¹ “*Der ganze Bau atmet die liebevollste persönliche Hingabe des Künstlers.*” “Zum Gedächtnis von Otto Schmalz,” 573.

¹⁰² Ibid., 573. This connection between body and building was reinforced in the building’s exterior decorative program. A cast iron representation of the building was placed above the main portal of the *Amtsgericht*. The sculpture depicted a personification of Justice sitting on top of the courthouse’s main façade. Holding a light-emanating beacon above her head, Justice’s body takes the place of Schmalz’s tall central tower.

¹⁰³ Hans Schliepmann, “Neuer Geist im Bauwesen,” *Berliner Architekturwelt* 21, no. 5/6 (1919): 17.

The influence of the Baroque was even more dramatically seen in the building's interior. In both sections of the building, monumental stair halls provided a focal point in the plan. Almost like goiters set amidst the orthogonal geometry of the rest of the building, the undulating shapes of these areas arose from the intersection of a series of circles and ovals. In the stair hall for the *Landgericht*, designed during the first phase of planning primarily by Thoemer and Mönnich, a single stair situated on axis with the entrance spiraled up to the top floor of the main hall. Supported by a series of vertical piers and lit from behind through a large expanse of stained glass windows, the stairs appeared to rise independently from the surrounding structure of the building.

Schmalz's design for the larger *Amtsgericht* stair hall was even more audacious in its spatial effects. **[Figs. 5.17, 5.18]** The space features two separate staircases facing each other across the long axis of an oval-shaped lobby. As in the *Landgericht*, each staircase is supported by a veritable forest of structural piers suggesting the vertical elements of a Gothic cathedral. As they rise from ground level, the stairs divide into two separate courses that spiral upwards between sets of piers. Between landings, the flights project into the space of the hall in a way that appears independent of structural support. The rhythm of bursting out and retreating back established in the stairs is amplified in plan by the alternation of convexity and concavity in the stair treads. Reminiscent of Michelangelo's stairs at the Laurenzian Library or Charles Garnier's stair hall at the *Opéra* in Paris, these subtle shifts in curvature compel the visitor into movement. Like Wöfflin's description in *Renaissance und Barock* of the "monstruous" stairs leading from

St. Peter's to the piazza below, which "appear as if a viscous mass has slowly rolled down", the *Amtsgericht* staircases give a direct impression of fluidity.¹⁰⁴

Schmalz's concentration on the design of the *Treppenhaus* followed the prominent place of this feature in other *Justizpaläste*.¹⁰⁵ In Friedrich von Thiersch's design for the central courthouse in Munich, for example, the model of southern German Baroque buildings was used to create the building's monumental stair hall. In preparation for his design of the two facing staircases that punctuate this space, Thiersch traveled throughout Austria and Southern Germany in an attempt to record the *Treppenhäuser* designed by Fischer von Erlach, Hildenbrandt, Neumann, and others.¹⁰⁶ In his *Denkschrift* for the project, Thiersch himself noted:

For the choice of this style, the greater freedom of means of expression and greater volubility of forms was decisive. In addition, for the design of the public spaces,

¹⁰⁴ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstiles in Italien* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1986), 47.

¹⁰⁵ In his book *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur*, Julius Posener compared Schmalz's design to Rudolf Mönnich and Carl Vohl's project for a monumental criminal court in the Moabit section of Berlin, conceived as an extension to a large prison building. In a detailed analysis of the building's central space, he connected Mönnich and Vohl's design to the tradition of the German *Treppenhaus*. As in the Baroque, Mönnich and Vohl's stairs became "*entrückt*" ("carried away" or "lost in reverie"). He argued that despite the building's general reliance on late-Gothic and Baroque stylistic paradigms, there was no direct historical model for the *Treppenhaus*. "The spatial conception (*Raumgedanke*) of Moabit," he declares, "is without precedent." Indeed, rather than situating the building within the Neo-Baroque context of the late-nineteenth century, Posener boldly suggests that the interior of the Moabit *Kriminalgericht* maintains a close connection to the "Expressionist spaces" of the twentieth century, including Bartning's *Sternkirche* and the foyer of Scharoun's *Philharmonie*. Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur: Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II* (München: Prestel, 1979), 82.

¹⁰⁶ Many of Thiersch's sketchbooks from his excursions still survive in the archives of the *Technische Universität* in Munich, revealing his close attention to these locations. The archive also contains an almost complete record of Thiersch's drawings for the *Treppenhaus* during the evolution of its design. The hundreds of sketches and drawings that relate to this feature of the building show Thiersch's great concern not only with the structural aspects of his daring design, but also with the visual effects garnered from the sweeping lines of his stair treads, overlapping flights of stairs, and framed views of the entire space made possible by openings in the staircase and balconies situated along the perimeter of the space.

namely that of the large main *Treppenhaus*, forms that were also superbly established in the most illustrious examples of former times were exquisitely applicable – one thinks of the staircase and hall designs of the Viennese, Würzburg, and Munich Baroque and considers the vestibules and main stairways of the Palaces of Brühl, Würzburg, Schleißheim, Ansbach, and others.¹⁰⁷

Thiersch's design of the stair transformed its Baroque prototypes into compelling architectural effects. Reviewers of the building were quick to relate these effects to recent art historical descriptions of the Baroque. In a description of the main hall for an 1897 issue of the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, for example, the Swiss architect and painter Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendas invoked Wölfflin's conception of the Baroque:

The impression of this room is... thoroughly novel, astonishing. An extraordinarily *malerisch* effect is achieved through the richness of the expended architectural decoration forms, the changing of colors, and the feeling of light that formally overwhelms everything. The designer strove for these effects; for him, it did not have to do exclusively with the architectural solution. Corresponding to the selected architectural forms – Baroque in the sense of the best German models of the eighteenth century –, he knew how to merge a 'feeling for space (*Raumgefühl*)

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in: Hermann Thiersch, *Friedrich von Thiersch: Der Architekt, 1852-1921* (München: Hugo Bruckmann, 1925), 136.

directed at the infinite' with the '*malerisch* in the highest sense of the word, with the enchantment of light' (Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*)¹⁰⁸

In this way, alongside its cultural and political overtones, Thiersch's composition was seen to engage directly with the ideas of movement and space.

While conceiving his design, Schmalz made numerous trips to the Baroque palaces of Austria and Bavaria. He carefully studied the monumental stair halls at places like Würzburg and Pommersfelden. The *Treppenhaus* was, in fact, a central point of focus in art historical investigations of the Baroque. If the *Stützfigur* signaled the corporeal confrontation between downward pressure and upward thrust in Baroque architecture, the *Treppenhaus* provided art historians with a paradigmatic example of architecture's potential for conditioning movement through space.¹⁰⁹ Already in his *Cicerone*, Jacob Burckhardt highlighted the importance of the stair hall in his account of the Baroque style. "The pride of palaces at that time," he suggested, "are particularly the stairs."¹¹⁰ For Burckhardt, from Bernini's illusory stairs at the *Scala regia* in the Vatican to the Palazzo Madama in Turin, the stairway became one of the primary ways in which secular Baroque architects gave an impression of directionality and expansiveness.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ The citation relating to *Renaissance und Barock* at the end of Berlepsch-Valendas description is in the original text. Hans Eduard von Berlepsch-Valendas. "Das neue Jusitzgebäude in München," *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 17 (1897), 352.

¹⁰⁹ This would culminate in Paul Frankl's use of the *Treppenhaus* as a central example of the evolving spatial impulses of secular Baroque architecture in his 1914 *Habilitationsschrift* written under Wölfflin. Frankl charts four phases of Baroque evolution through the changing composition of the stair hall. See Paul Frankl. *Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style, 1420-1900* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: The MIT Press, 1968).

¹¹⁰ Jacob Burckhardt. *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1874, p407.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 408.

Similarly, Wölfflin noted in *Renaissance und Barock*, “The pride of the aristocrat’s palace was a broad, convenient and well-lit staircase.”¹¹² This, for Wölfflin, related to Vasari’s dictum, “Let the stairs be grand in every way, for many see the stairs and nothing more of the house.”¹¹³ Rather than a simple connector, the Baroque *Treppenhaus* was a showpiece in and of itself.

For Gurlitt, the *Treppenhaus* was a defining contribution of the German Baroque. Architects such as Fischer von Erlach, Hildebrandt, Balthasar Neumann, and Johann Dientzenhofer transformed the “appearance of a purely functional construction” into “a *Festraum* of the highest order.” In his description of the Würzburg *Residenz*, for example, Gurlitt contended that the stair hall was “the most important room of the entire palace.”¹¹⁴ He explained that Neumann’s design created a sequence of “*malerisch* views.” He described, “The gallery-supporting arcade posts, the strong and yet elegant design of the Tuscan order, the rich figural decoration on the balustrades and windows, and also the masterful frescoes of Tiepolo all act together in order to bestow on the *Treppenhaus* an effect that stands almost alone in German lands in its true princely effulgence.”¹¹⁵

In his book *Barock und Rokoko*, Schmarsow argued that the upward directionality of the *Treppenhaus* was the secular equivalent of the vertical axis introduced in domed church spaces. He wrote, “As soon as the idea of the plastic vertical drive (*plastischen Hochdrang*) of this central element between below and above is seized, a showplace for

¹¹² Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, p140.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 140.

¹¹⁴ Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles und des Rococo in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1889), 344.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 344-345.

fruitful motives is found.”¹¹⁶ In spaces such as Michelangelo’s Laurenziana, the stair hall facilitated the “psychological contrast effects” beloved by Baroque architects. The action of climbing stairs constituted not only a change in elevation, but a “move between preparation and completion.”¹¹⁷ In his 1915 book *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Wölfflin related this sense of movement to the multiplication of viewpoints afforded by the *Treppenhaus*. Discussing Late-Baroque palace architecture in Germany, he stated, “In the staircase of a rich palace, we do not look for the solid, enduring, concrete form of the lay-out, but surrender to the rhythm of the changing views, convinced that these are not fortuitous by-products, but that, in this spectacle of never-ending movement, the true life of the building is expressed.”¹¹⁸

Schmalz’s engagement with the historical model of the *Treppenhaus* at the *Amtsgericht* revolved around the creation of a similarly dynamic series of changing perspectives. The visitor enters stair hall space through a low, dark vestibule. The ceiling of this *Vorraum* is supported by wide stone piers that are clad on each side with the shape of a pilaster. The deep grooves in the fluting of these pilasters are exaggerated at the middle of each shaft, appearing to bow outwards under an extreme pressure. From this experience of weight, the visitor is drawn up two flights of stairs, each with four shallow treads, into the soaring space of the *Treppenhaus* itself. These entry stairs are both convex in shape, with the second more exaggerated than the first.

¹¹⁶ August Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das malerische in der Architektur*, 167.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹¹⁸ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover, 1950), 64.

The hall's bright lighting and soaring piers guide the eye upwards past the stacks of open galleries on each side to a dramatically-vaulted Gothic ceiling that was originally decorated with golden stars. The stairs themselves grab the visitor's attention by projecting out into space from each side of the hall. The staircases are divided by a central structural pier into two courses that join each other at landings before separating again and twisting back onto themselves. While the first two treads of the staircases undulate between convexity and concavity, the ones above bend outwards with diminishing convexity. Complemented by the meandering, almost *Jugendstil* line of the iron balustrade, the lines of the staircase beckon the visitor upwards.

As they twist out into space and then back towards the central landings, the staircases provide a continually changing succession of vistas. **[Fig. 5.19]** The canted line of the stair courses and the vertical piers that support them fragment and frame these views. As the visitor climbs upwards, they are forced to reconstruct and re-imagine their relation to the main volume of the hall. At the same time, narrow slots of space between the stair railing and the envelope of the hall give the impression that the entire structure rises of its own accord. Departing from the stable viewpoints and single-point perspective of his submission for the Schinkel Competition, Schmalz's conception of space at the *Amstgericht* creates a feeling of pressure and release through the careful staging of movement. As described in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, the project was not just Baroque, but "*das barocke Barock*."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ "Zum Gedächtnis von Otto Schmalz," 578.

In addition to fulfilling its purpose of distributing the public to different levels of the court house, the entire *Treppenhaus* is about space. In his own description of the inscription for the main stair hall, Schmalz relates:

Everywhere in the universe you see the world of prevailing laws standing in peaceful grandeur. They enclose the fleeting moment (*flüchtigen Augenblick*) of your being as well as the dead stones of this building. The world of God above you shows itself to you in the harmony of the spheres, in time and space, in the depth of life and death; the world of people next to you in the forms of States and of law; the innate world in you in consciousness and the feeling for art, beauty, morality.¹²⁰

In this way, Schmalz envisioned his design for the stair hall as part of an entire spectrum of order that reached from the individual to the cosmos itself. The “*flüchtigen Augenblick*” of the individual was represented in the continually changing perspective of the viewer within the “dead stones” of the building. By seeming to defy architectural laws of load and support, the *Treppenhaus* drew attention to the body’s connection to art and, beyond this, to the rules that govern the relation between the individual and society. Rather than providing an iconographic connection to the idea of law, Schmalz’s design was itself a manifestation of the idea of freedom within order. More than any direct stylistic reference, it was this connection to the delicate interplay between imagination and rule that connected Schmalz’s *Neubarock* to the architects of the Baroque.

¹²⁰ Quoted in “Zum Gedächtnis von Otto Schmalz,” 574.

Conclusion

The Modernity of Style

It is as though the Baroque had feared ever to speak the last word.

Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*¹

At the beginning of his 1947 book on the metamorphoses of the Baroque in the nineteenth century, the critic Karl Scheffler explained the strange inspiration he received leading him to the topic. One night in a dream, he had a vision of an ornament form that would not cease moving. “In my effort to locate it,” he described, “it developed itself into the line that expressively circumscribes the facial profile and neck of ‘Thetis’ in the painting ‘Jupiter and Thetis’ by Ingres.” Scheffler continued, “This contour then transformed itself again into an ornament of specifically Baroque character – so vividly, as to be evocative of something, to invite attention to something. It caused me to awaken.”² Scheffler’s hallucinatory vision of the interplay between the body of Thetis and the ornamental language of the Baroque established the discursive thread that wound its way through his account of the survival of the style.³ From the “sizzling fantasy” of

¹ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover, 1950), 63.

² Karl Scheffler, *Verwandlungen des Barocks in der Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Gallus-Verlag, 1947).

³ Following a brief account of nineteenth and early-twentieth century writers who recognized the contemporaneity of the Baroque and a discussion of the resonances between the formal strategies of the Baroque and late-Gothic styles, the bulk of the book traces a path in text and images through the “sizzling fantasy” of Michelangelo and Bernini’s sculptures, the fantastical prints of Piranesi, the lamentable “kitsch”

Michelangelo to the “*Jugendstil-Barock*” and Expressionist Baroque, Scheffler cast the style as a fundamental formal principle linking the sixteenth century with the twentieth.⁴ It appeared again and again where traditional artistic boundaries dissolved and sensation and emotion prevailed over meaning.⁵

Late-nineteenth century architecture played a particularly complex role in Scheffler’s argument. In discussing the rise of the Neo-Baroque, he complained, “In this style, architects discovered rich possibilities for the representational requirements of the *Großbourgeoisie*. As a result, metropolitan display architecture and pomp architecture (*Schau- und Prunk-Architekturen*), apartment palaces, governmental castles, theaters, museums, stair halls, and pretentious furniture arose everywhere in the spirit of a *Gründergesinnung*.”⁶ The client for this architecture was simple *Geldmacht*. Fortunately, Scheffler contended, this episode already belonged to the past and could be approached safely as a historical phenomenon.

architecture of the Berlin Neo-Baroque, the “original detail fantasy” of Wallot’s Reichstag Building, and ultimately the “*Jugendstil* Baroque” and Expressionism.

⁴ Scheffler noted similar claims for the “modernity” of the Baroque in the writings of Heinrich Wölfflin, Alois Riegl, Julius Meier-Graefe, and Franz Wickhoff, the book was a story about the modernity of the Baroque.

Throughout his book *Das Phänomen der Kunst*, Scheffler classified the entire nineteenth century according to engagements with the Baroque. See Karl Scheffler, *Das Phänomen der Kunst: Grundsätzliche Betrachtungen zum 19. Jahrhundert* (München: Paul List, 1952).

⁵ This perspective becomes clear in Scheffler’s description of the historical Baroque itself. In a description of Daniel Pöppelmann’s Zwinger, he argued, “The eye does not worry about the meaning of the ornaments and arabesques, the trophies, signatures, shields, cartouches, scepters, palm trees, cornucopias, fruit garlands, statues, masks, caryatids, etc.” Instead, what mattered was the “forceful rhythm of the structural elements, the tempo of the provocatively ordered accents, the light and shadow effects, and the contrast between high and low, horizontal and vertical.” Karl Scheffler, *Deutsche Baumeister* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1935), 157.

⁶ Scheffler, *Verwandlungen des Barocks in der Kunst des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 166.

Scheffler found a more lasting renewal of the Baroque in buildings such as Paul Wallot's Reichstag and Friedrich von Thiersch's *Justizpalast*. At first glance, he noted, one was tempted to "turn away angrily" from these projects. After more sustained contemplation, however, they began to reveal a host of positive qualities. In addition to their "great skill," Thiersch and Wallot developed an original architectural language based on their engagement with historical forms. Scheffler contended that these architects were linked on one side to the historicism of Semper, Hasenauer, and Viollet-le-Duc and on the other to a new generation of architects such as Hans Poelzig. They stood, he noted, at a "*Zwischenstufe*" ("Intermediate Stage") that marked the fine line at the end of the nineteenth century between *Kitsch* and *Kunst*.

Scheffler's conflicted description of the *Neubarock* reflected its complex fate after the turn of the twentieth century. Wallot's design for the Reichstag provides a symptomatic example. In 1927 and 1929, competitions were held for the expansion of the building and the reorganization of its large surrounding plaza.⁷ Wallot's original design for the building had been outgrown. In addition to its insufficient library, archive, and office spaces, the building's teeming decoration contrasted with the prevailing taste of the *Neues Bauen*. In a review of the competition entries, Werner Hegemann argued that the

⁷ The prize winners of the 1927 competition were E. Fahrenkamp and H. de Fries, Hans Heinrich Grotjahn, Rudolf Klophaus and Erich zu Putlitz, Karl Leubert and Hans Lehr, Paul Meissner, G. Schaupp, Franz Stamm and Georg Holzbauer, Heinrich Straumer, and Josef Tiedemann. These architects also participated in the 1929 competition, in addition to Peter Behrens, German Bestelmeyer, Wilhelm Kreis, Hans Poelzig, Paul Schmittner, Siedler, and Karl Wach. Neither of the competitions led to a completed project. Other architects, including Bruno Taut and Ludwig Hilberseimer, created unofficial entries to the competition. The Reichstag Building site had been the subject of several proposals since the beginning of the twentieth century. These include designs for the reorganization of the *Königsplatz* by Otto March in 1912, by Martin Mächler in 1920, by Otto Kohtz in 1920 (which included an audacious design for a 200 meter-high ziggurat-like "*Stadtkrone*"), and by Hugo Häring in 1927. For a general account of the issues surrounding proposals for the *Platz*, see Wolfgang Sonne, "Specific Intentions – General Realities: On the Relation between Urban Forms and Political Aspirations in Berlin during the Twentieth Century," *Planning Perspectives* 19 (July 2004): 283-310.

“parvenu nature” and “*Wilhelminismus*” expressed by the building were simply “no longer tolerable.”⁸ Its surfeit of ornamentation, with “six to seven different scales operating simultaneously”, reminded him of “a first class catafalque.”⁹

This attitude is evident in the entries themselves. Peter Behrens, whose inscription “*Dem deutschen Volke*” had been installed on the front of the building in 1916, proposed shaving “all of the building’s forms clean from its body.”¹⁰ The Düsseldorf architect Karl Wach suggested inserting a box-like form onto the original façade so that “the face of the old building shows through some boards with its teeth snarling.”¹¹ According to Ludwig Hilberseimer, Wach’s proposal would have the effect of “a renovated ruin” (“*eine umbaute Ruine*”).¹²

As is evident in an unofficial project for the 1929 competition published by Bruno Taut, however, the reception of the Reichstag was considerably more complex. Taut proposed constructing “an extension around the current building parallel to its

⁸ Werner Hegemann, “Turmhaus am Reichstag?!,” *Städtebau* 25 (1930): 97. Henry-Russell Hitchcock described the Reichstag Building as an “overpoweringly monumental Neo-Baroque project.” It was proof that after the death of Friedrich August Stüler, it was not until the twentieth century that “Germans again made a significant contribution to European architectural history.” Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1958), 156.

⁹ Werner Hegemann, “Turmhaus am Reichstag?!,” 97.

¹⁰ This line comes from a quote by the architect Fritz Schumacher, as quoted in: Tilmann Buddensieg, “Der Reichstag und die Künstler,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 1, 1977). The richly decorated facades of the *Gründerzeit* had often, in fact, been forcefully removed. As Janet Ward has documented, the idea of “façade renewal” became a popular phenomenon in the Weimar period. Numerous “before and after” illustrations in the period depicted buildings shaved of their ornamentation. See Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920’s Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001).

¹¹ Quoted in Werner Hegemann, “Turmhaus am Reichstag?!,” *Städtebau*, 25 (1930): 97.

¹² Ludwig Hilberseimer, “Reichstagerweiterung und Platz der Republik,” *Die Form* 5, no. 13 (1930), 340. Hilbersimer’s own proposal for the competition was not an official entry, but survives in his archive at the Art Institute of Chicago.

contours.”¹³ This would solve the Reichstag’s space limitations while retaining a measure of “piety” towards Wallot’s design.¹⁴ According to Taut, a future competition for the decoration of the building’s new stockade-like façade could even be organized with ground rules that require all designs to be based on “*Wallotsche Architektur*.”¹⁵ Taut had a longstanding admiration of the Reichstag Building. In his student days, he described it as “very agreeable and noble, and German in ornament as well as in the entire application of decoration.”¹⁶ Indeed, he could trace his professional lineage directly back to Wallot.

In his book *Deutsche Baukunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfgang Herrmann suggested that even though his own time frequently understood the Reichstag Building as “the endpoint of an epoch,” it was nevertheless in Wallot’s architecture that

¹³ Bruno Taut. “Die Reichstagerweiterung in ihrer Beziehung zum Platz der Republik.” *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, 50, no. 5 (5 February 1930), 109-116.

¹⁴ Ibid., 116. Rather than in India, where old pagodas are saved from destruction and completely surrounded by new construction, “so that the old is inserted like a kernel into a nut,” Taut maintained that his proposal would allow the old Reichstag Building – at least its famous iron and glass dome – to be visible from a newly reorganized *Platz der Republik*. In addition to fulfilling the Reichstag’s requirement for increased space, Taut reasoned that his scheme would allow the building to grow 40 meters into the *Platz der Republik*, giving it a renewed sense of mass capable of translating the powerful monumental impact made by Wallot’s design at the end of the nineteenth century into a new aesthetic outlook based on the “aggregation of large unified blocks in a wide spreading expansion” [“*das Zusammenfassen großer einheitlicher Blöcke in weiter Breitenausdehnung*”]. Interestingly, in his review of this part of Taut’s proposal, Hilberseimer referred to the Baroque: “*Im übrigen ist eine solche Umbauung durchaus möglich und vielleicht sehr zweckmässig. Frühere Zeiten waren bei solchen Bauangelegenheiten viel unbedenklicher als wir. Es sei nur an das Barock erinnert, das vollkommen skrupellos alles der Vergangenheit Angehörige seinen Zwecken unterzuordnen versuchte, beispielweise bei der Peterskirche in Rom. Auf Bramante geht der Plan des gleicharmigen griechischen Kreuzes mit der dominierenden Kuppel über der Vierung zurück. Michelangelo griff diesen Gedanken, als er den Bau übernahm, wieder auf. St. Peter war nach seinem Plan fast vollendet, als unter Paul V. beschlossen wurde, statt des griechischen das lateinische Kreuz dem Grundriß zugrunde zulegen. Man ließ durch Carlo Maderna in Anlehnung an die Gesu-Kirche in Rom dem Zentralbau ein Langhaus vorlegen. Hierbei waren allerdings nicht, wie bei idem Reichstag, Bedürfnisgrafen, sondern reine Stilfragen entscheidend, die den Baegedanken Michelangelos allerdings völlig zerstörten.*” Ludwig Hilberseimer, “Reichstagerweiterung und Platz der Republik,” 341.

¹⁵ Taut, “Die Reichstagerweiterung in ihrer Beziehung zum Platz der Republik,” 16. The editors of the *Zentralblatt* added a footnote to this point, insisting that it was “*Ein sehr problematischer Vorschlag.*”

¹⁶ Quoted in: Michael Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes* (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1983), 206.

“ideas about truth (*Wahrheitsgedanken*) were thought to have been realized again and architecture freed from the spirit of style-copying.”¹⁷ Similarly, the architect W. Mackowsky claimed that Wallot’s era found itself in a “transitional stage” (*Übergangsstadium*). “It longed,” he suggested, “for the liberation from stylistic shackles; it was directed towards giving itself a new appearance, towards constructing a new formal language.”¹⁸ It was for this reason that Hermann Muthesius gave Wallot’s design a prominent place in his 1902 book *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*. For Muthesius, the Reichstag marked the beginning of “a new era in German *Baukunst*.” With its daring iron and glass dome and Wallot’s “free artistic creation through the command of all preceding cultural production”, the building was far from an embarrassing pyre.¹⁹

The same contradictions that characterized reactions to the Reichstag Building after the turn of the twentieth century were felt by *Neubarock* architects themselves. The reception of the Baroque in Berlin during the 1880’s and 1890’s reflected the complex ways in which architects responded to historical tradition. At the same time that art historical definitions of the Baroque revolved around questions of degeneration,

¹⁷ Wolfgang Herrmann, *Deutsche Baukunst des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Basel and Stuttgart: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1977), 55. Due to Nazi suppression, the second volume of Herrmann’s book was not released, as planned, in 1933. It appears for the first time in the 1977 Birkhäuser volume.

¹⁸ W. Mackowsky, *Paul Wallot und seine Schüler* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1912), 4. In his 1902 book *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, the sociologist Werner Sombart also uses this idea of an “*Übergangsstadium*” to describe the Reichstag Building. For Sombart, the building’s combination of sculpture, painting, and architecture into a *Gesamtkunstwerk* suggested the possibility of a new artistic epoch capable of ameliorating the destructive forces of modern civilization brought about through capitalistic entrepreneurship. See Werner Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus: Die Theorie der kapitalistischen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1902), 302.

¹⁹ Hermann Muthesius, *Style-architecture and Building-art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and its Present Condition* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 74. For the original German version, see Hermann Muthesius, *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst : Wandlungen der Architektur im XIX. Jahrhundert und ihr heutiger Standpunkt* (Jena: Diederichs, 1902).

continuity, and newness, the rediscovery of the style in architecture went hand in hand with debates about the future of design in the wake of stylistic revivalism. The architects of the *Neubarock* were attracted to the style not only because of its strong cultural and political resonances, but also because they viewed the situation of the Baroque architect himself as similar to their own. Just as Gurlitt celebrated Schlüter's recombination of historical sources in the creation of works that were simultaneously quintessentially German and entirely new, architects approached the Baroque as a model for "newness" in design.

As we have seen, the rediscovery of the Baroque not only provided architects with a set of powerful ideas concerning not their relationship to the past, but also functioned as a lens through which they examined the nature of architectural experience. Whether in Wallot's expression of individualism at the Reichstag, Otto Rieth's investigation of the connection between the body and expression in his drawings and photographs, or Otto Schmalz's experiments into space, engagements with the Baroque sought to replace the Hegelian absolutism of previous generations with a new conception of design rooted in the principles of architectural effect.

In this way, the reception of the Baroque in the 1880s and 1890s helped establish the groundwork for architectural views of the style after the turn of the twentieth century. In projects from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's design for a "*Wohnhaus am Berghang*" in 1903 to Otto Kohtz's renderings of fantastical buildings in his book *Architekturgedanken*, the work of *Neubarock* architects such as Rieth was extended into the realm of abstract, emotive form. Similarly, a serious engagement with the expressivity of the Baroque can be seen in Hans Poelzig's project in 1902 for a music hall in present day Wrocław. In his

rendering of the space's monumental organ, Poelzig's sinuous *Jugendstil* language is made to resonate with the existing Rococo forms of the room.²⁰ In the same way, his design for the spire of the city's *Hofkirche* took its cue from the region's Baroque church architecture.

The reception of the Baroque in Germany also had a great impact on some of the main protagonists in the spread of architectural modernism. In 1924, Nikolaus Pevsner completed a dissertation at the Universität Leipzig under the art historian Wilhelm Pinder.²¹ Focused on the historical development of Baroque architecture in Leipzig, the project stemmed directly from Pevsner's close study of art historical research on the style from the end of the nineteenth century. As is illustrated by several folders of lecture notes held at the Getty Research Institute, Pevsner was exposed to the lectures and writings of Pinder, Wölfflin, Riegl, Schmarsow, and many others. In addition, his notes show an active interest in the aesthetic theories of the philosopher Johannes Volkelt. In the forward to the publication of his dissertation in 1928, Pevsner acknowledged both Gurlitt and Pinder. He expressed his greatest gratitude for Schmarsow, whose "work on the essence of the Baroque style" he described as "a model for the entire scholarly method of this book."²²

The most influential engagement with late-nineteenth century art historical conceptions of the Baroque came in the writings of Sigfried Giedion. Starting with his

²⁰ Hans Poelzig, Poelzig's fascination with the Baroque can be followed in his careful study of the work of Daniel Pöppelmann, Gaetano Chiaveri, and Georg Bähr in Dresden.

²¹ For an account of Pevsner's intellectual development in Germany, see Uta Engel, "The Formation of Pevsner's Art History: Nikolaus Pevsner in Germany 1902-1935," in *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 29-56.

²² Nikolaus Pevsner, *Leipziger Barock. Die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1928), forward.

dissertation *Spätbarocker und Romantischer Klassizismus*, published in 1922, Giedion's career-long interest in the Baroque stemmed directly from the interpretive system set up by his advisor Wölfflin.²³ In his attempt to delineate the concept of Classicism (and with it, the end of the Baroque), Giedion structured his project around the opposing artistic approaches that characterized architectural design at the turn of the eighteenth century.²⁴ In distinguishing between the "Late-Baroque" and "Romanticism," Giedion's methodological approach reflected Wölfflin's own contrast of the Baroque and Renaissance in *Renaissance und Barock* and *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. At the same time, his close attention to the different conceptions of the body and architectural space that established the architectural language of *Klassizismus* reflected the role of space in the previous writings of Riegl and Schmarsow.

The importance of Baroque space in Giedion's developing historical project can be clearly seen in his book *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, first published in 1941. In his attempt to ascertain "how our epoch had been formed, where the roots of present-day thought lay buried," Giedion located the roots of contemporary developments directly in the architectural heritage of the Baroque.²⁵ He argued, "The last phases of the baroque development are the true inheritance of the epoch

²³ At the beginning of his book *Space, Time, and Architecture*, Giedion declared, "As an art historian I am a disciple of Heinrich Wölfflin." He continued, "In my own first nook, Late Baroque and Romantic Classicism..., I tried to follow Wölfflin's method. The periods contrasted were the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, both periods of classicism." Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), 2. For a general description of Giedion's student years, see Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion: An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993).

²⁴ In its reorientation of the legacy of Schinkel in light of the contrasting dimensions of the Late-Baroque and Romanticism, Giedion's book could also be read as a response to the fate of *Klassizismus* in the writings of Gurlitt.

²⁵ Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 3.

out of which we grow.”²⁶ In his emphasis on the connection between the Baroque and the present, Giedion followed in the footsteps of late-nineteenth century scholars. At the beginning of his long analysis of the Baroque in *Space, Time, and Architecture*, he recounted the story of the rediscovery of the Baroque. Giedion enthusiastically cited Gurlitt’s work, which he credited as popularizing “the late baroque of nearly all countries.”²⁷ At the same time, Giedion was careful to provide an important place in this story to Wölfflin, whose writings “taught us, even before 1890, to appreciate the early Roman baroque that begins with Michelangelo.”²⁸

In a way that recalls the architectural strategies of the *Neubarock*, Giedion argued that Baroque architects created new compositions from the tradition of the Renaissance. “In just the way that Bach would transpose a simple melody into a great new harmony, elaborate and subtle,” Giedion suggested, “these architects transmuted the forms developed in the Renaissance.”²⁹ In this effort, Baroque architects combined “mathematical speculations of a high order of complexity” with “completely visionary or mystical imaginative creations.”³⁰

This was clearly illustrated in the architecture of Borromini, whose rediscovery at the end of the nineteenth century Giedion attributed to Gurlitt. In a footnote, Giedion included a sentence from *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*: “All who have still not lost courage for the invention of new means of expression to meet the new tasks... in

²⁶ Ibid., 42.

²⁷ Ibid., 42-43.

²⁸ Ibid., 42.

²⁹ Ibid., 42.

³⁰ Ibid., 42.

construction will find a congenial spirit in Borromini.”³¹ In the undulating wall of *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane* and in the dynamic shapes of *Sant’ Ivo*, Giedion found a union of mathematical thinking and creativity that culminated in a conception of exterior and interior space characteristic of the more recent creations of modern artists. This was also true of Neumann’s *Vierzehnheiligen*, which he described as “a magnificent balance between architecture, sculpture, and painting.” Considered as pure form, the Baroque emerged as a basis for modernism itself. By juxtaposing images of the interior of the dome at *Sant’ Ivo* with a 1910 sculpture of a head by Picasso, of the *Piazza del Popolo* with a drawing of horizontal and vertical planes by Theo van Doesburg, and of the spiral crowning *Sant’ Ivo* with Vladimir Tatlin’s project for a Monument to the Third International, Giedion proclaimed the Baroque’s articulation of space as an essentially modern approach to form-making.³² Although a complete analysis of these connections must be left for a future study, they point to the fertile endurance of nineteenth century Baroque debate. The hallucinatory vision of Baroque form that awakened Scheffler to the survival of the style in the nineteenth century could, in this way, be considered as a symbol for the complex modernity of the *Neubarock*.

³¹ Ibid., 45.

³² For general accounts of Giedion’s portrayal of the Baroque as a modern tradition, see Christof Thoenes, “Die Formen sind in Bewegung geraten’: Zum Verständnis der Architektur Borrominis,” *Daidalos*, 67 (March 1998): 62-73; Anthony Vidler, *Warped Space: Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 2000).

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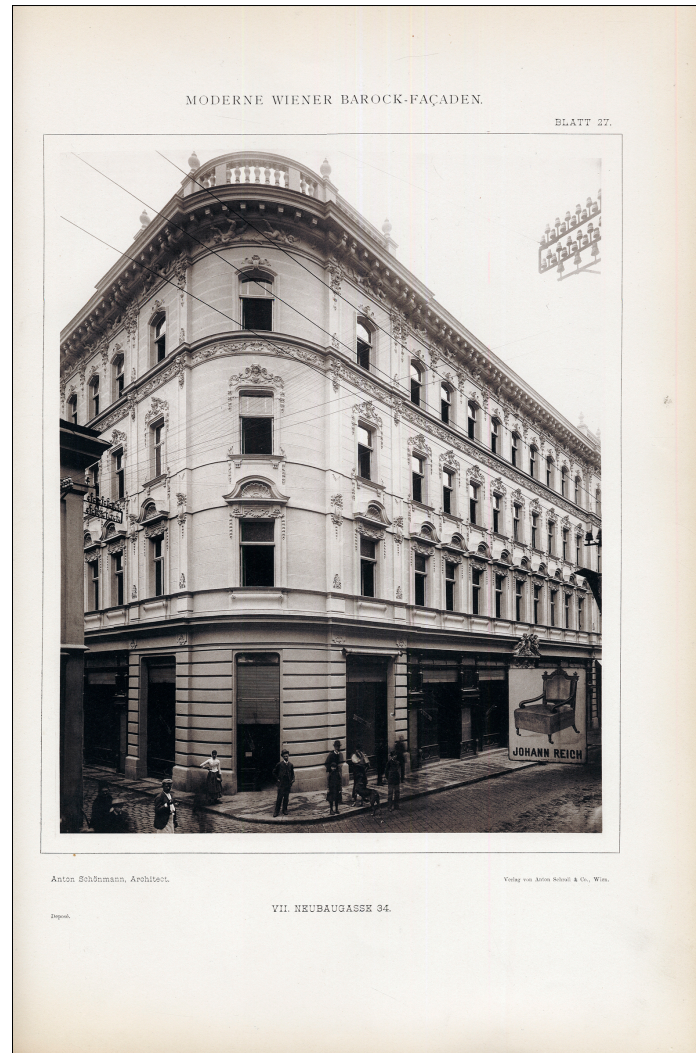
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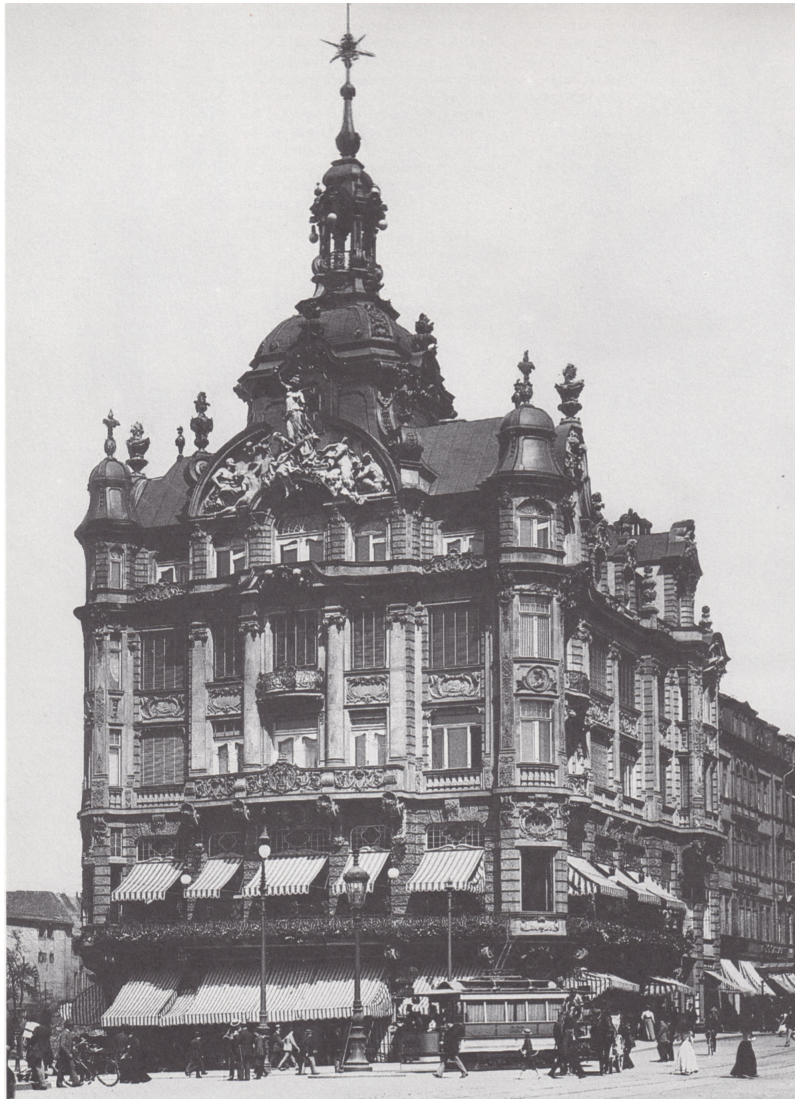
0.1. Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Kampf gegen die Chimäre der Perückenzeit*, 1850



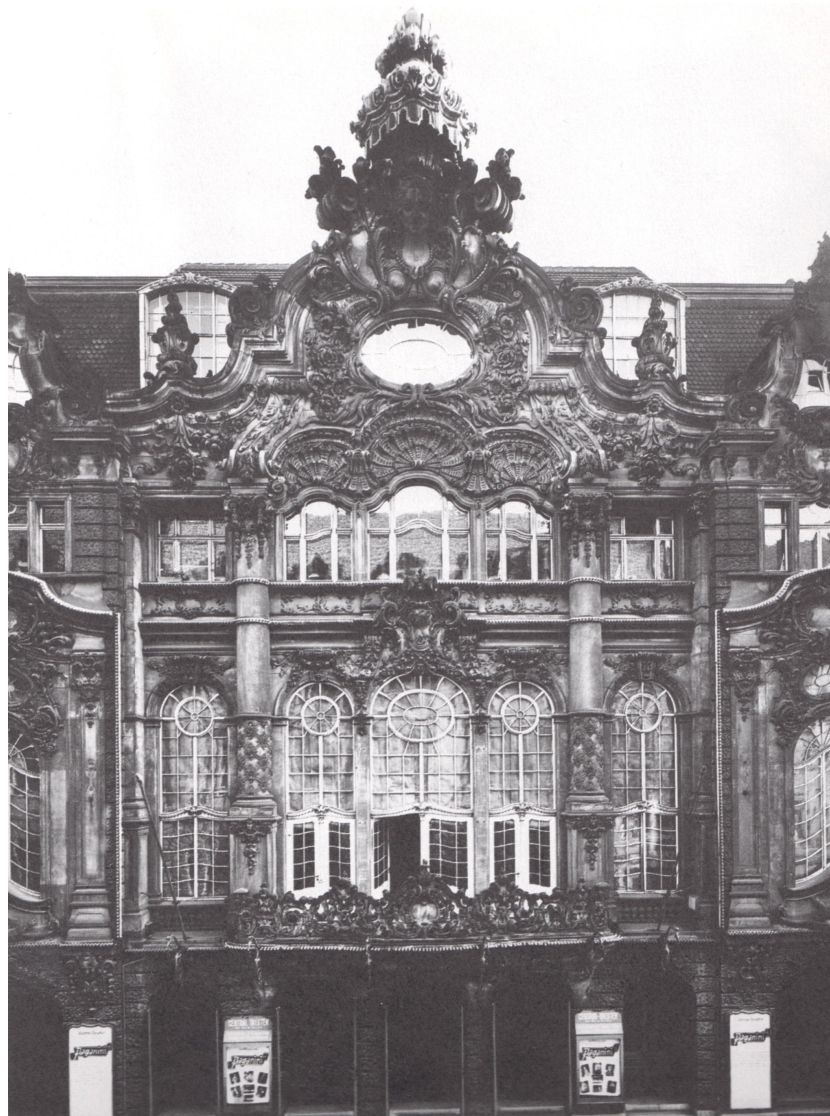
0.2. Apartment Building with Baroque facade



0.3. "Die Männer vom Karlsplatz" in "Die Zeit", January 9, 1910



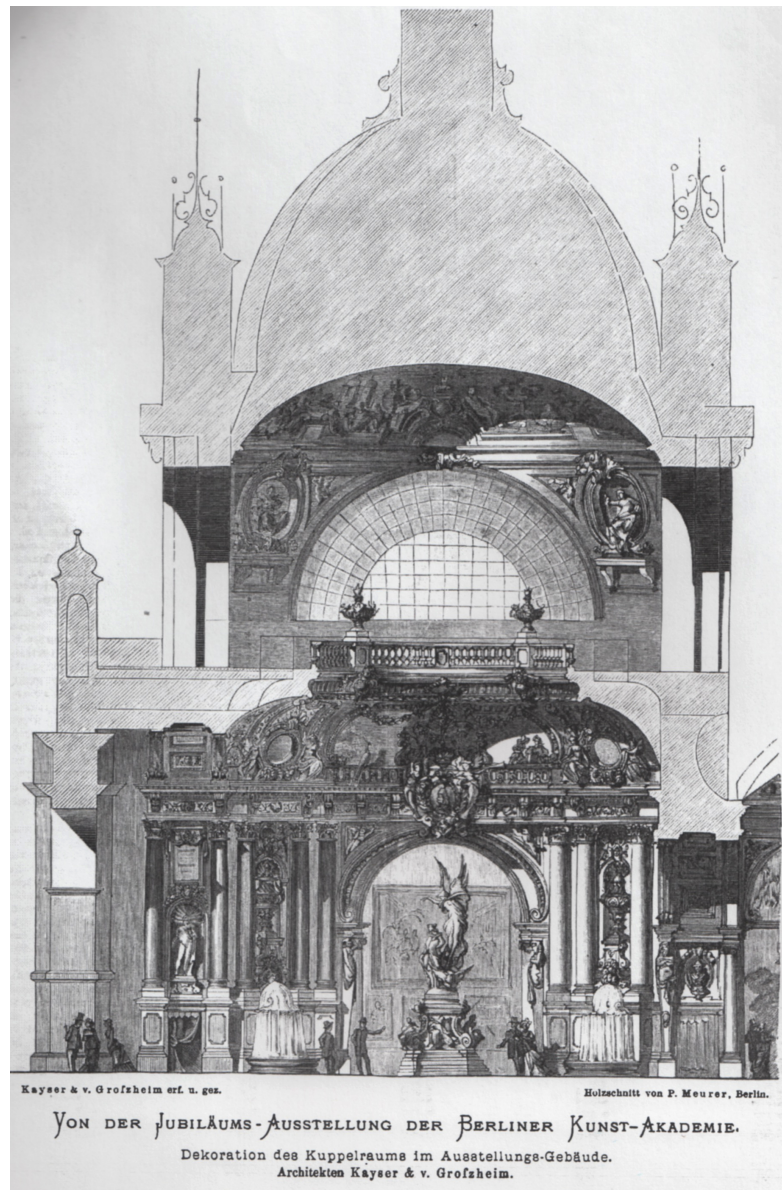
0.4. Paul Wallot, Das Landtagsgebäude (Ständehaus), 1901



0.5. W. Lossow and H. Viehweger, Das Zentraltheater,
Waisenhausstraße, 1897 – 1900



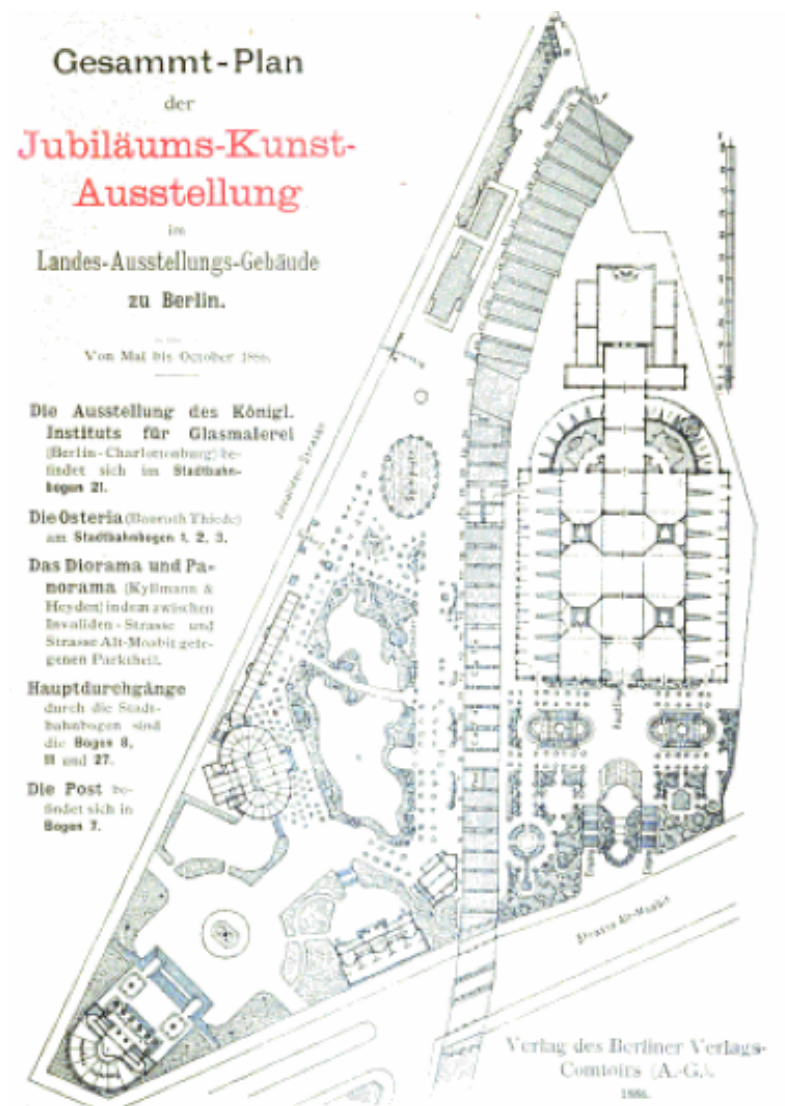
0.6. Friedrich von Thiersch, Justizpalast, view of the open gallery in the treppenhaus



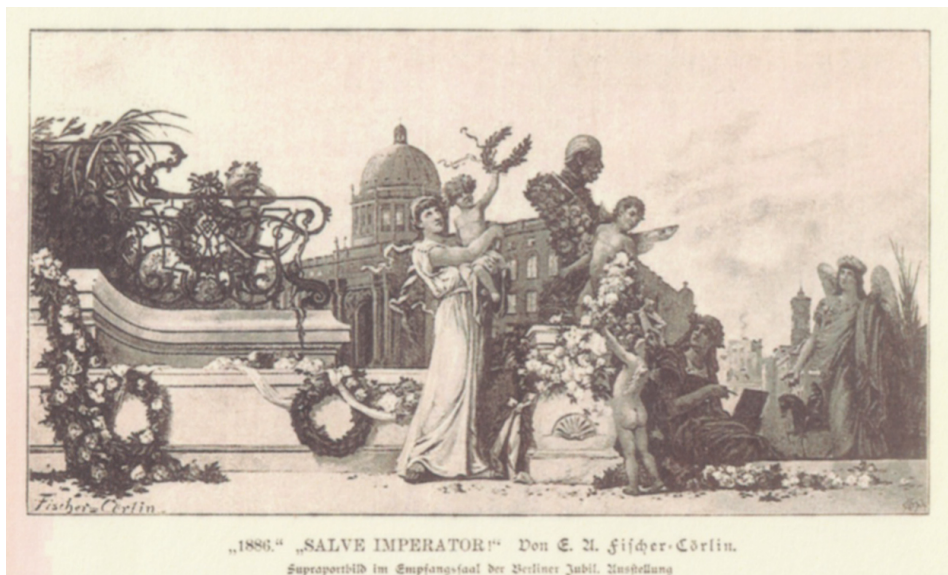
1.1. Kayser & von Großheim, *Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung*, Berlin, 1886



1.2. Hermann Prell, Poster for *Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung*, 1886



1.3. Site Plan, Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung, Berlin, 1886



1.4. E. A. Fischer-Corlin, *Salve Imperator!*, 1886 .



1.5. Andreas Schlüter, Zeughaus, Berlin



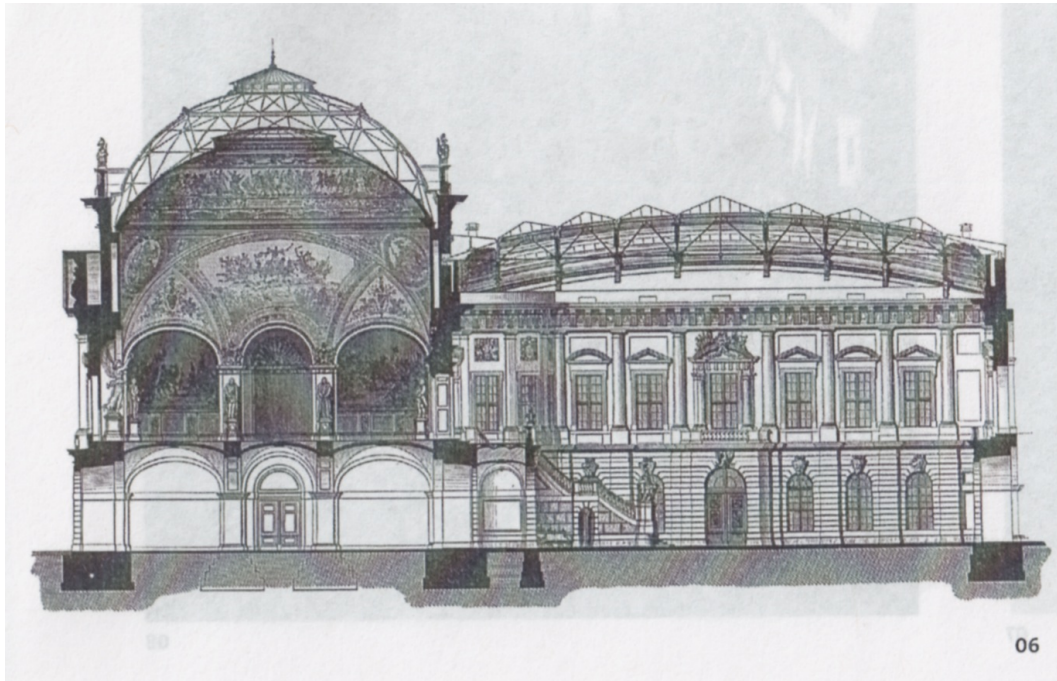
1.6. Andreas Schlüter, Zeughaus, Berlin, I
in *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* (1698);



1.7. Andreas Schlüter, Lustgarten façade, Berlin Palace



1.8. J.B. Broebes, Lustgarten Façade, Berlin Palace, 1704



1.10. Friedrich Hitzig, Reconstruction of Zeughaus, 1877-1880



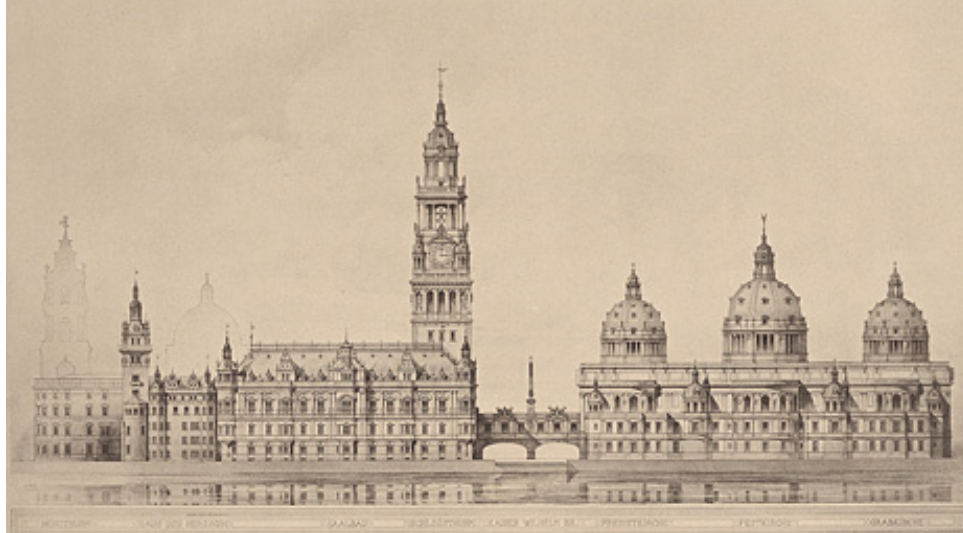
1.11. Temple of Zeus, Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung, Berlin, 1886



1.12. Alexander Kips and Max Koch, Pergamon Panorama,
Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung, Berlin, 1886



1.13. Ottomer Anschütz, Photograph of Victory Parade
Jubiläums-Kunst-Ausstellung, Berlin, 1886



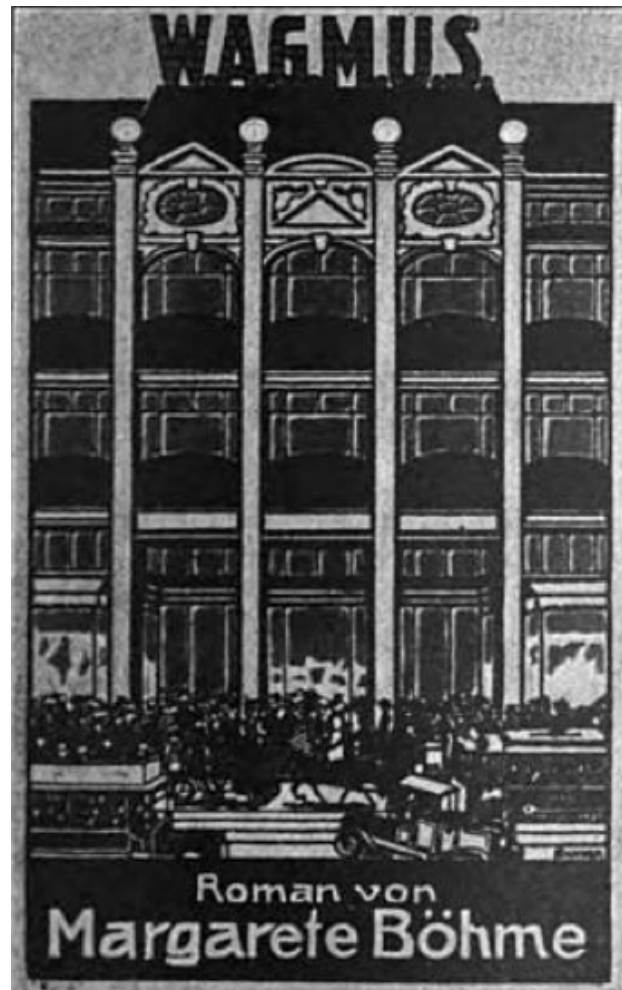
1.14. Julian Raschdorff, Palace Extension and Dom, 1885



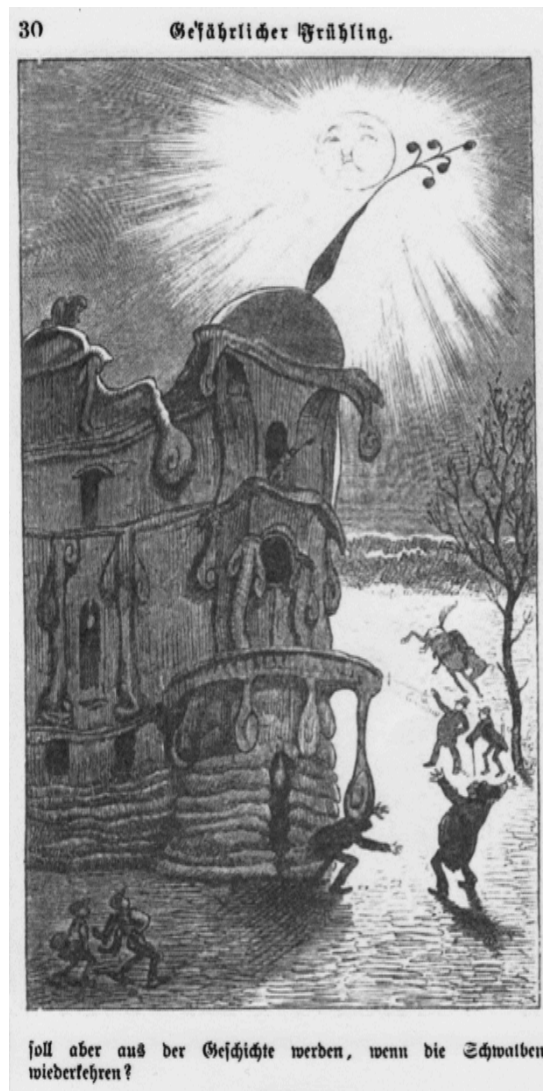
1.15. Ernst von Ihne, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, 1897-1904



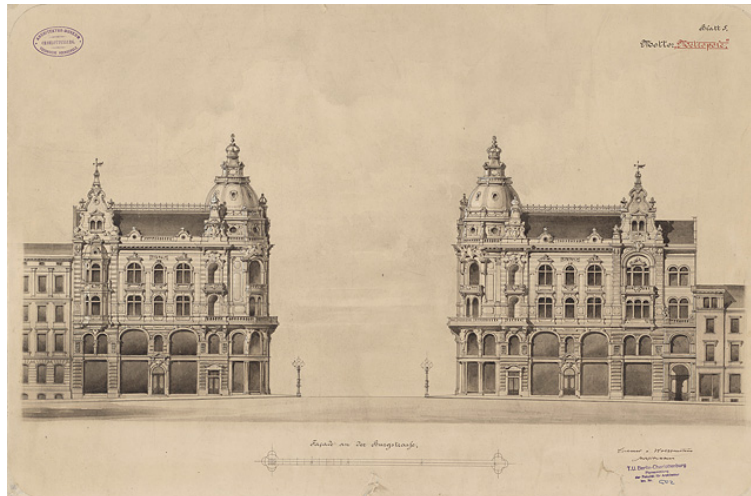
1.16. Odol Advertisement, Jugend, 1903



2.1. Cover from *W.A.G.M.U.S* 1911, Margaret Böhme



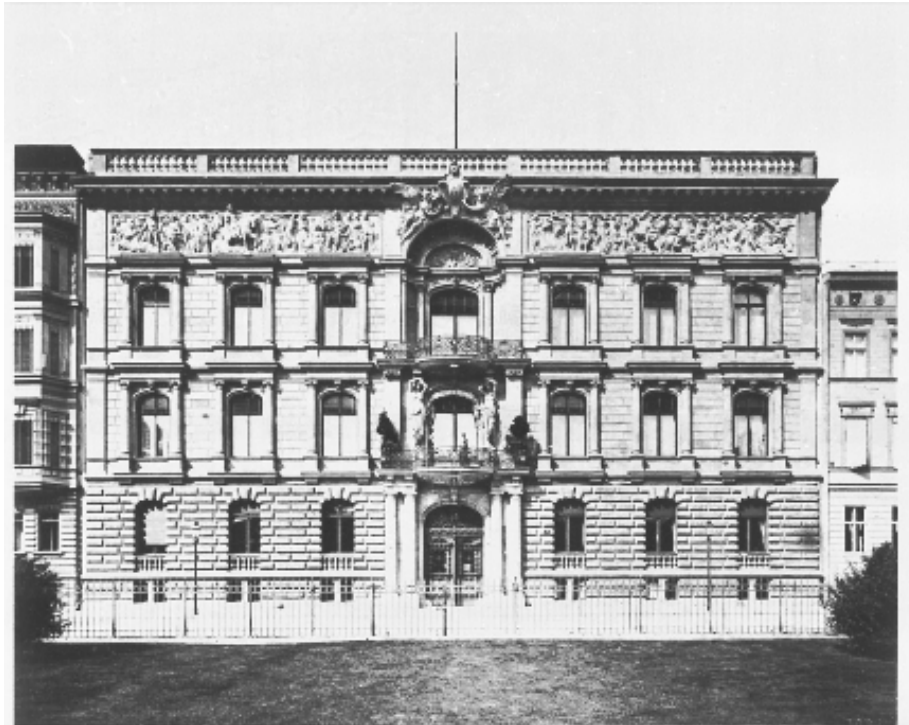
2.2. Cartoon, "Gefährlicher Frühling" *Fliegende Blätter*



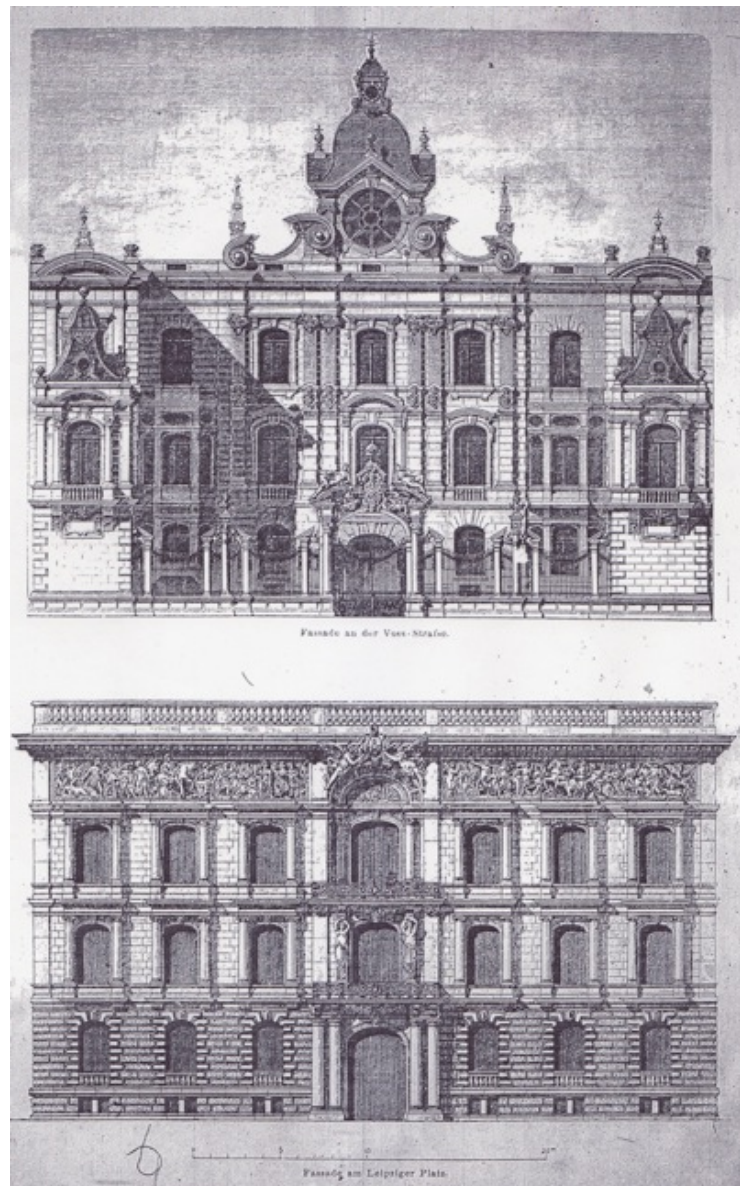
2.3. Cremer & Wolffstein, Development on Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse, Berlin, 1886



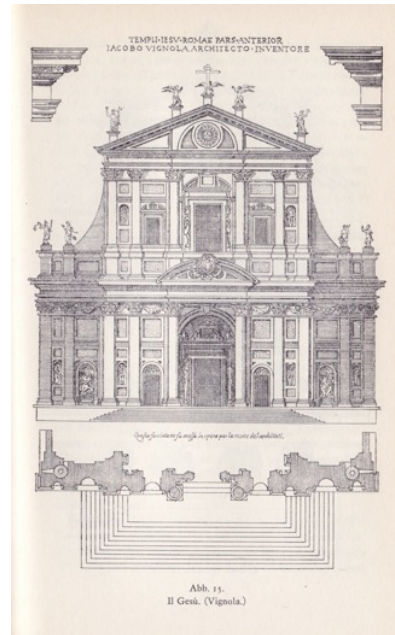
2.4. Cremer & Wolffstein, Development on Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strasse, Berlin, 1886



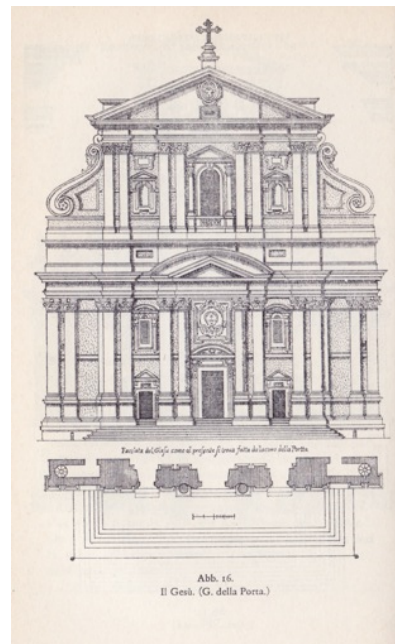
2.5. Ebe & Benda, Mosse Palais, Berlin, 1884-1888, Photograph



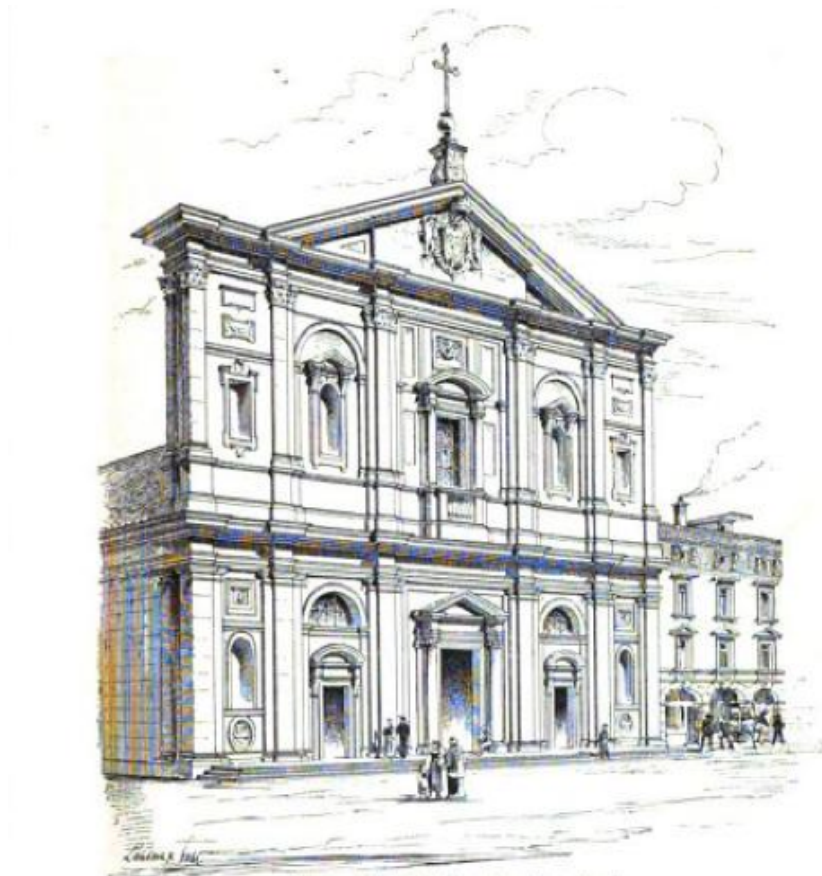
2.6. Ebe & Benda, Mosse Palais, Berlin, 1884-1888



2.7. Il Gesù, Facade Design
by Giacomo da Vignola



2.8. Il Gesù, Facade Design
by Giacomo della Porta



2.9. Giacomo della Porta, Design for the façade of *San Luigi dei Francesi*



2.10. Advertisement for men's ties



Abbildung 5



Abbildung 4



Abbildung 3



Abbildung 6

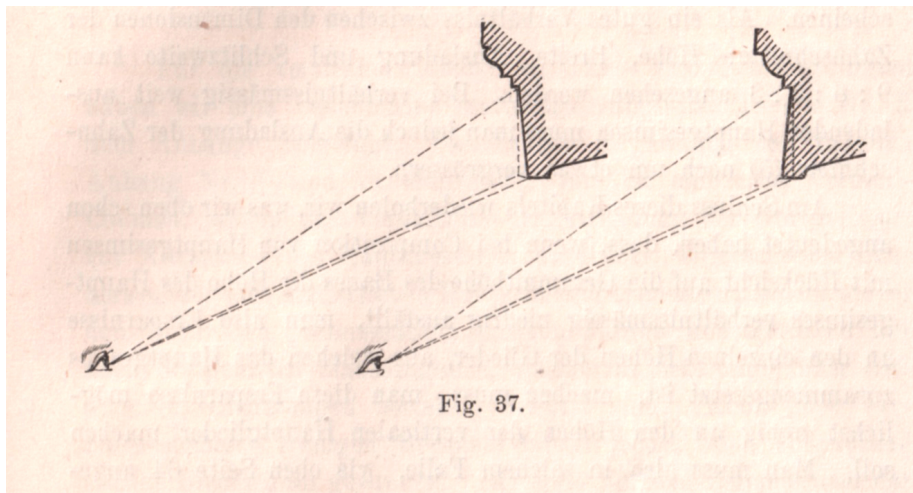


Abbildung 7



Abbildung 8

2.11. Advertising motifs; from Mosse *Klischee-Katalog*



2.12. Cornice diagrams

Zu Seite 73.

Tabelle VIII.

Höhe der Hängeplatte in zweitheiligen, modernen Gesimsen à la cancelleria und à la Pal. Pesaro in Winkelminuten (M. P.) ausgedrückt.

Lat. No.	Name des Gebäudes.	Autor.	Verhältnis der Hauptgesimse Hauptgesimse zur Fassade- höhe.	Verhältnis der Hauptgesimse Hauptgesimse zur Fassade- höhe.	Bezeichnung des Giebels.	Wirk- liche Höhe des Giebels. Meter.	Höhen- lage des Giebels. Meter.	Entfer- nung des Stand- punktes. Meter.	Ver- kür- zungs- Factor.	Ver- kürzte Höhe des Giebels. Meter.	Augen- Ent- fernung Meter.	Größe der Tangente des Winkel- minuten.	Höhe der Hänge- platte in Winkel- minuten.	Kritisch-kathetische Bemerkungen.
	A. Gesimse à la cancelleria.												(M. P.)	
1.	Wohnhaus zu Rom	Lotarouilly Taf. 8	1:21	1:35½	Hängeplatte	0,100	14,75	29,50	0,89	0,098	32,50	0,0030	0°10½'	leicht.
2.	" "	" Taf. 13	1:33	1:52	ditto.	0,055	16,15	32,30	0,89	0,049	36,00	0,0014	0°5'	beide zusammengehörige Hängeplatten zu leicht.
3.	" "	" " 23	1:25½	1:49½	ditto.	0,109 0,066	14,00	28,00	0,89	0,098 0,059	31,00	0,0032 0,0019	0°11½' 0°7'	beide zusammengehörige Hängepl. hier reich. stark.
4.	" "	" " 37	1:15½	1:32½	ditto.	0,110	15,95	32,00	0,89	0,099	35,00	0,0028	0°9½'	zu leicht.
5.	" "	" " 41	1:20½	1:35½	ditto.	0,100	17,80	35,60	0,89	0,142	38,50	0,0037	0°12'	harmonisch.
6.	Hoffküche dogni.	" " 59	1:30	1:30½	ditto.	0,120 0,090	13,95	28,00	0,89	0,107 0,080	31,00	0,0035 0,0026	0°12½' 0°9'	harmonisch.
7.	Hoffküche an Maria della pace zu Rom	" " 64	1:20	1:35½	ditto.	0,073 0,046	10,50	21,00	0,89	0,065 0,041	23,50	0,0028 0,0018	0°9½' 0°6½'	fast zu schwach.
8.	Pal. di Venezia (Hof) zu Rom	" " 77	1:17½	1:36½	ditto.	0,100	13,08	26,16	0,89	0,098	29,00	0,0034	0°12'	leicht, doch harmonisch.
9.	Pal. Cancelleria zu Rom	" " 80	1:27½	1:49	ditto.	0,081 0,128	24,60	49,20	0,89	0,072 0,112	54,00	0,0013 0,0021	0°4½' 0°7½'	beide zusammengehörige Hängepl. zu schwach.
10.	Pal. Giraud zu Rom	" " 147	1:25½	1:44	ditto.	0,102 0,099	21,30	42,60	0,89	0,091 0,088	47,00	0,0019 0,0018	0°5½' 0°6½'	desgleichen.
11.	Kirche de SS. Apostoli zu Rom	" " 167	1:23½	1:42	ditto.	0,100	15,70	31,40	0,89	0,098	34,50	0,0028	0°9½'	schwachlich.
12.	Villa di papa Giulio zu Rom	" " 202	1:17½	1:35	ditto.	0,110 0,075	15,85	31,70	0,89	0,099 0,067	35,00	0,0028 0,0019	0°9½' 0°6½'	beide zusammengehörige Hängepl. fast zu leicht.
13.	Ehrendenkmäl.	" " 207	1:19½	1:31	ditto.	0,120	16,40	32,80	0,89	0,107	35,50	0,0030	0°10½'	leicht.
14.	Bauakademie zu Berlin	Schinkel	1:27½	1:45	ditto. ohne Stab mit "	0,180 0,130	19,80	39,60	0,89	0,160 0,116	45,00	0,0037 0,0027	0°12½' 0°9½'	klare Verhältnisse.
15.	Berliner Hauptwache	"	1:17½	1:28	ditto. ohne Stab mit "	0,105 0,140	11,63	23,26	0,89	0,093 0,125	25,30	0,0037 0,0049	0°12½' 0°17'	schwere antikisierende Verhältnisse d. Gebäudes.
16.	Polytechnikum in Dresden, Eckpavillon (Baurath Heyn)	nach Werkzeich- nung des Archi- tecten	1:26	1:41	ditto.	0,116	19,70	47,40	0,89	0,108	51,00	0,0021	0°7½'	
17.	Polytechnikum in München, Mittelbau (Oberbaurath Neureuther)	nach Werkzeich- nung des Archi- tecten	1:20	1:38	a) ditto. b) Raststab unter Console c) Rundstab unt. b	0,149 0,062 0,023	22,60 " " " "	47,60 " " " "	0,89 " " " "	0,133 " " " "	52,90 " " " "	0,0026 0,0012 0,0004	0°9' 0°4½' 0°1½'	
18.	Pal. Pesaro in Venedig	Fabrische di Ve- nezia	1:14	1:21	Hängeplatte	0,260	20,70	41,40	0,89	0,201	46,00	0,0050	0°17½'	schwere Wirkung.
19.	Wohnhaus zu Rom	Lotarouilly 195	1:20½	1:32½	ditto.	0,130	20,45	40,90	0,89	0,116	45,50	0,0026	0°9'	zu leicht.

Anm.: Beim Messen der Höhen der vordaher aufgeführten Hauptgesimse ist nach Oben das schmale obere Saumgild der Hängeplatte und ver-
tikal nach Unten der durch die Consolen durchschneitene Fries incl. darunter befindlichen Stützst.: -Blattstücken etc. Giebeln mit abgegriffen worden.
Die normalen Grenzen der Profilelemente siehe S. 55.

2.13. Table comparing cornice elements of various buildings

Tabelle über das Verhältniss der Blattstäbe zum Rundstabe und zum untern Riemcher (in Mauch'schen Partes und gleichzeitig in abstractem Zahlenverhältniss angegeben).

Zu Seite 61.

Tabelle XI.

Name des Monuments.	No. der Mauch'schen Tafel.	I.			Bemerkung.	II.			Bemerkung.	III.			Bemerkung.	IV.			Bemerkung.
		α	δ	c		α	δ	c		α	δ	c		α	δ	c	
Parthenon zu Athen	Taf. 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{11}{21}$	$\frac{2}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{minim.}$	...	...	...	...
Theater des Marcellus zu Rom	" 18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{7}{21}$	$\frac{2}{1}$	$a = \text{minim.}$
Theatrum des Diocletian zu Rom	" 20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{1}$	$\frac{5}{21}$	$\frac{2}{1}$	$a = \text{minim.}$
Tempel am Ilieus	" 31	$\frac{41}{111}$	$\frac{21}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{zu gross.}$ $b = \text{minim.}$	...	...	...	...	$\frac{21}{21}$	$\frac{41}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	...	...	...	...	$b = \text{Kapitel.}$
"	"	$\frac{4}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Minerva Polias zu Athen	" 33	$\frac{51}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{5}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{5}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{91}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max. (unter Kapitel.)}$	...	...	...	...
Erechtheum zu Athen	" 35	$\frac{51}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{51}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max. (unter Kapitel.)}$	...	...	...	...
Minerva Polias zu Priene	" 40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{7}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{5}{41}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Monument des Lykrateis zu Athen	" 54	$\frac{21}{2}$	$\frac{41}{81}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{minim.}$	...	...	...	...
Thurm der Winde zu Athen	" 60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Pantheon zu Rom	" 64	...	...	...	...	$\frac{41}{81}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$a = \text{zu klein.}$	$\frac{61}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{51}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max.}$	$\frac{41}{81}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$a = \text{zu klein.}$	$\frac{61}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{51}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max.}$	$\frac{41}{81}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$a = \text{zu klein.}$	$\frac{61}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{51}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max.}$	$\frac{41}{81}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$a = \text{zu klein.}$	$\frac{61}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Jupiter Stator-Tempel zu Rom	" 66	$\frac{51}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{11}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	$\frac{51}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{11}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Frontispice des Nero zu Rom	" 70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{21}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{21}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Triumphbogen des Constantin zu Rom	" 71	$\frac{81}{111}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$b = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...	$\frac{21}{21}$	$\frac{11}{1}$	$\frac{1}{1}$	$c = \text{max.}$	...	...	...	...
Verh. Verhältniss der Blattstäbe zum Rundstabe		max. $\frac{51}{21}$	minim. $\frac{1}{1}$	norm. $\frac{11}{1}$		max. $\frac{41}{81}$	minim. $\frac{11}{1}$	norm. $\frac{11}{1}$		max. $\frac{5}{21}$	minim. $\frac{1}{1}$	norm. $\frac{11}{1}$		max. $\frac{5}{21}$	minim. $\frac{1}{1}$	norm. $\frac{11}{1}$	

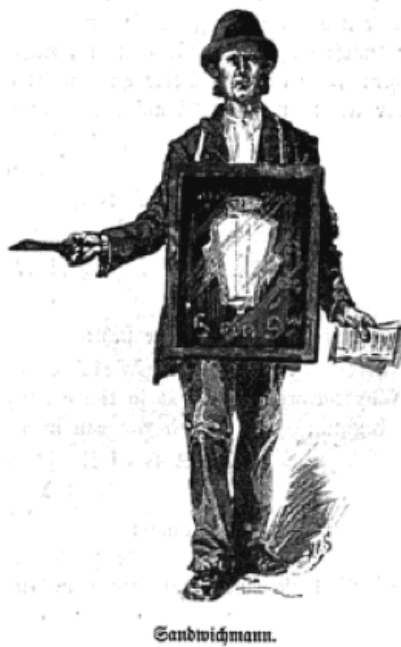
2.14. Table on the relationship of architectural elements



2.15. Photograph of Heinrich Wölfflin, 1902/03



2.16. Sketch of beer-tap Vendor



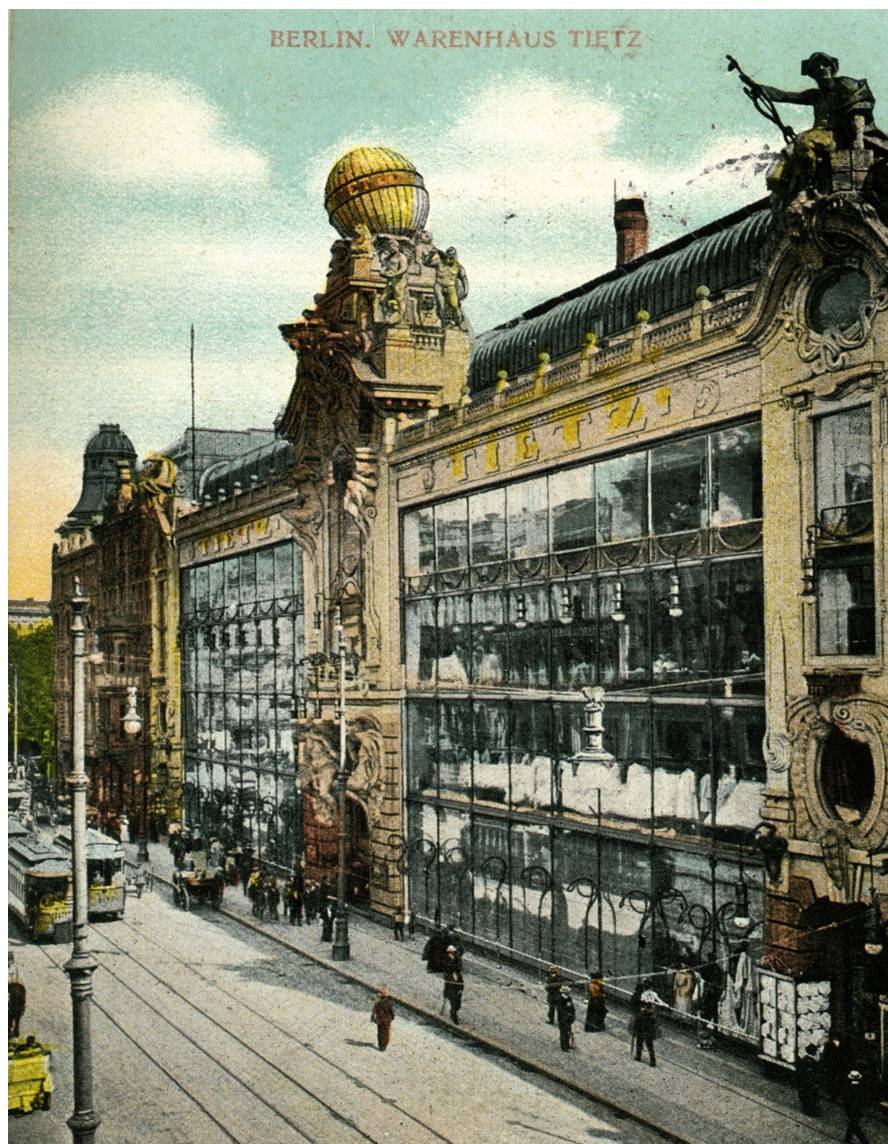
2.17. Sketch of Sandwich Man



2.18. Advertisement for the AMOL Company



2.19. Cartoon, 1884 from *Fliegende Blätter*



2.20. Postcard, Bernhard Schring, Tietz Department Store, 1899-1900



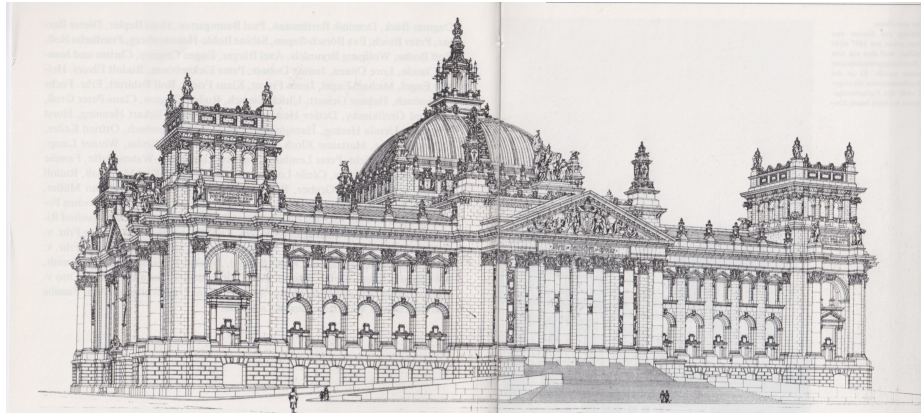
2.21. Photograph, Bernhard Sehring, Tietz Department Store, 1899-1900, Berlin



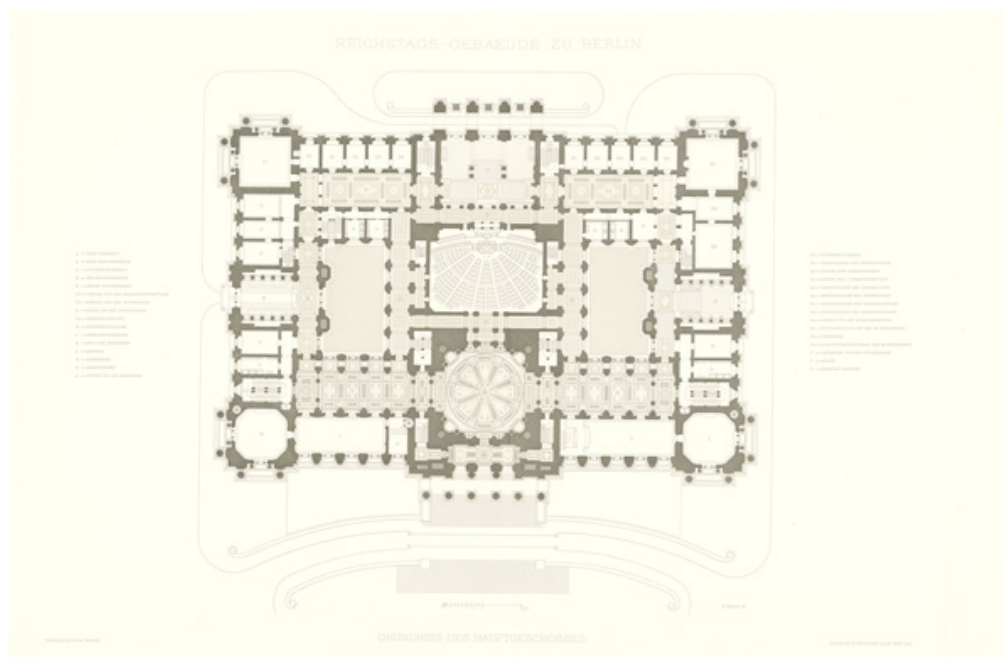
3.1. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building Competition Entry, 1882, Front Elevation



3.2. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building Competition Entry, 1882, Main Floor Plan



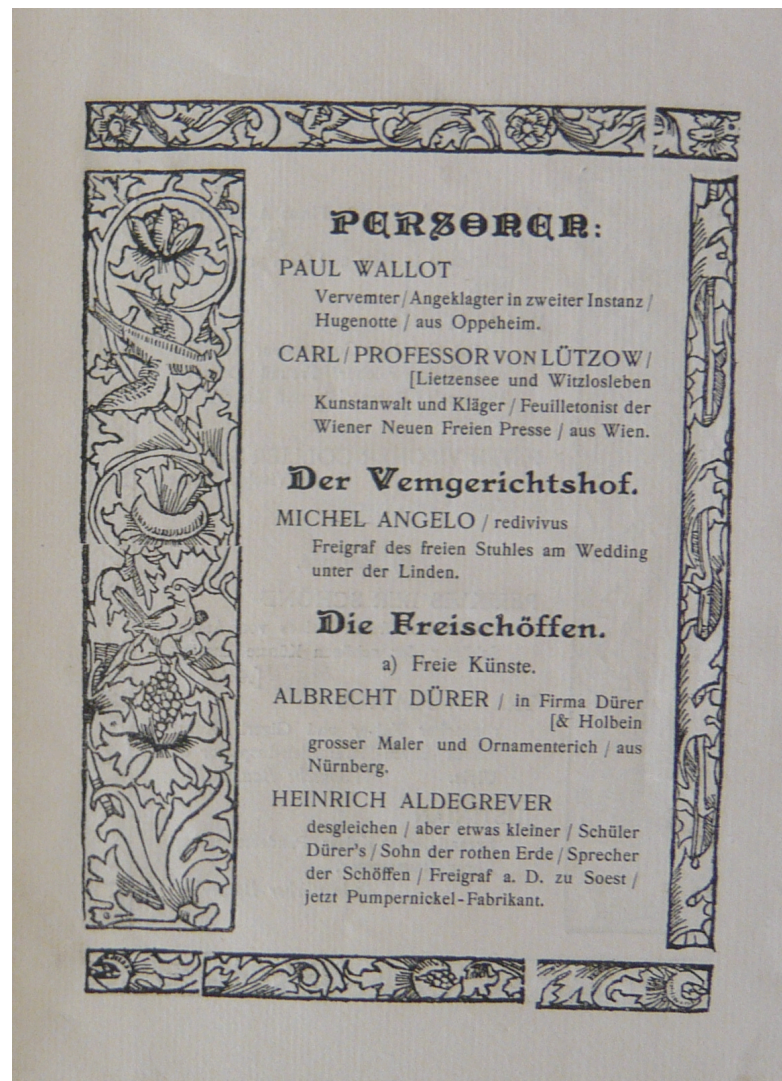
3.3. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building, Berlin, Final Design



3.4. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building, Final Plan



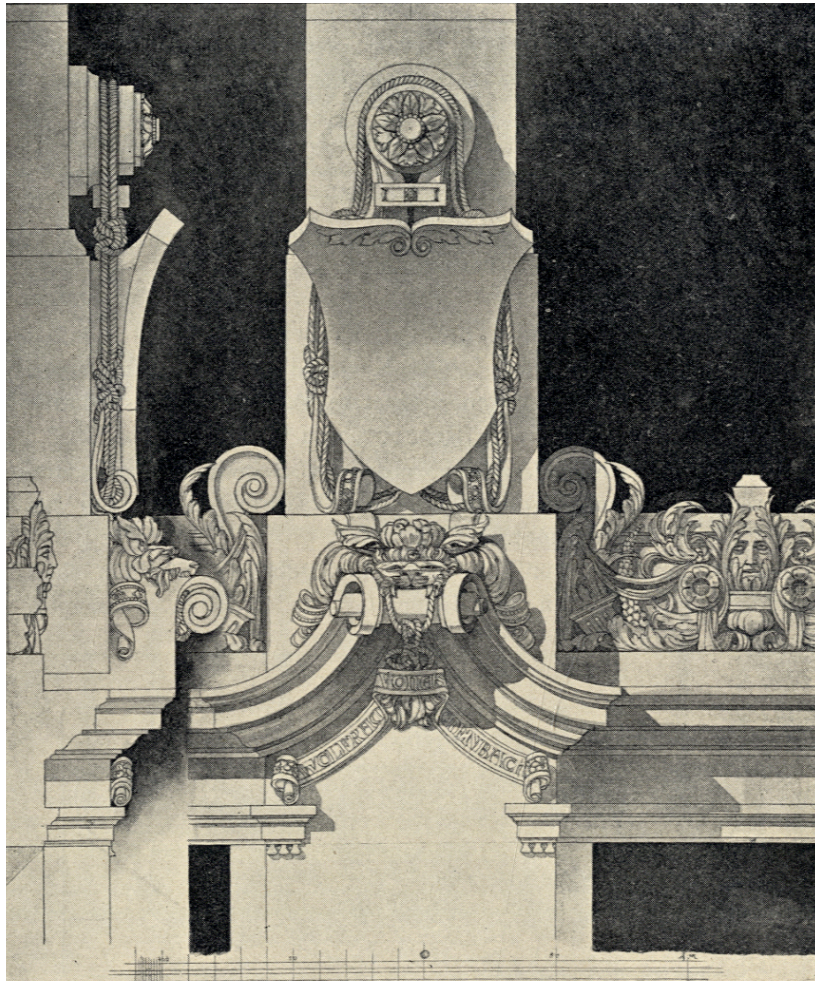
3.5. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building, Dome



3.6. "Ein Vemgericht am Wedding", Program for a Wallotfeier, 1894



3.7. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building, Berlin, "Bavarian Portal"



3.8. Drawing of Reichstag Building Decorations



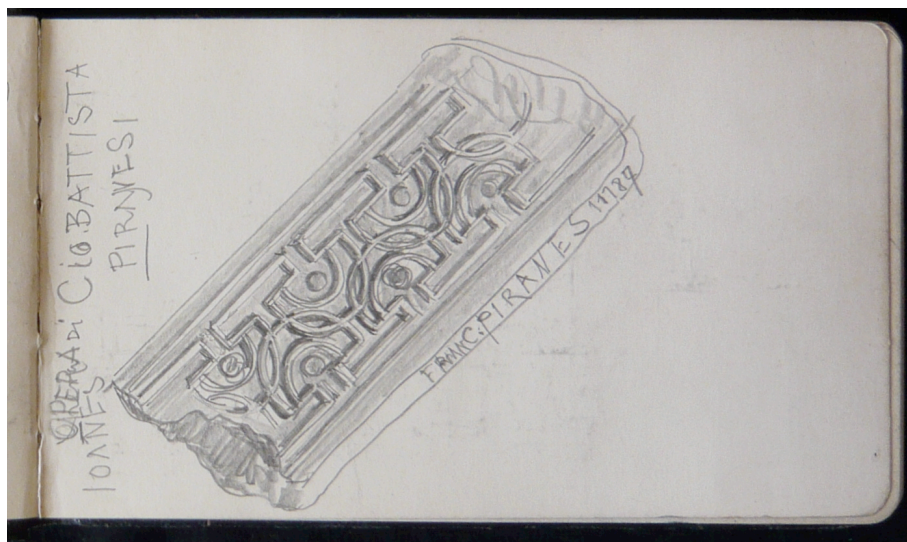
3.9. Paul Wallot, Reichstag Building, Berlin, Photograph of decoration on south facade of building, 1884-1894



3.10. Reinhold Begas, Reichstag Building Competition Entry, main elevation, 1882



3.11. Paul Wallot, Sketchbook Page



3.12. Paul Wallot, Sketchbook Page



3.13. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Plate III from Osservazioni, 1765



3.14. Paul Wallot, Gargoyle Sculpture on Reichstag Building, 1884-1894



4.1. Theodor Fischer, Fantasy Drawing



4.2. Otto Rieth, Fantasy Drawing, 1888



4.3. Otto Rieth, Fantasy Drawing, March 3, 1887



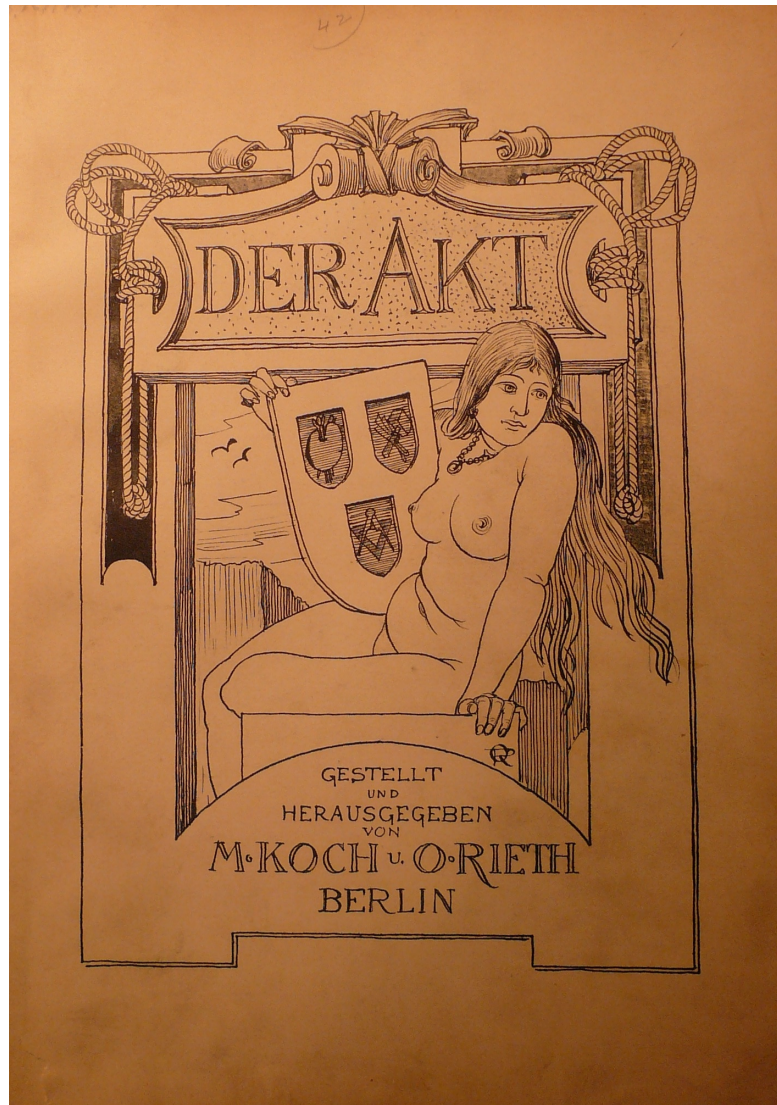
4.4. Otto Rieth, Sketchbook Drawing from Rome, 1903



4.5. Otto Rieth, Fantasy Drawing, June 28, 1887



4.6. Otto Rieth, Fantasy Drawing



4.7. Otto Rieth and Max Koch, Der Akt, Title Page, 1894



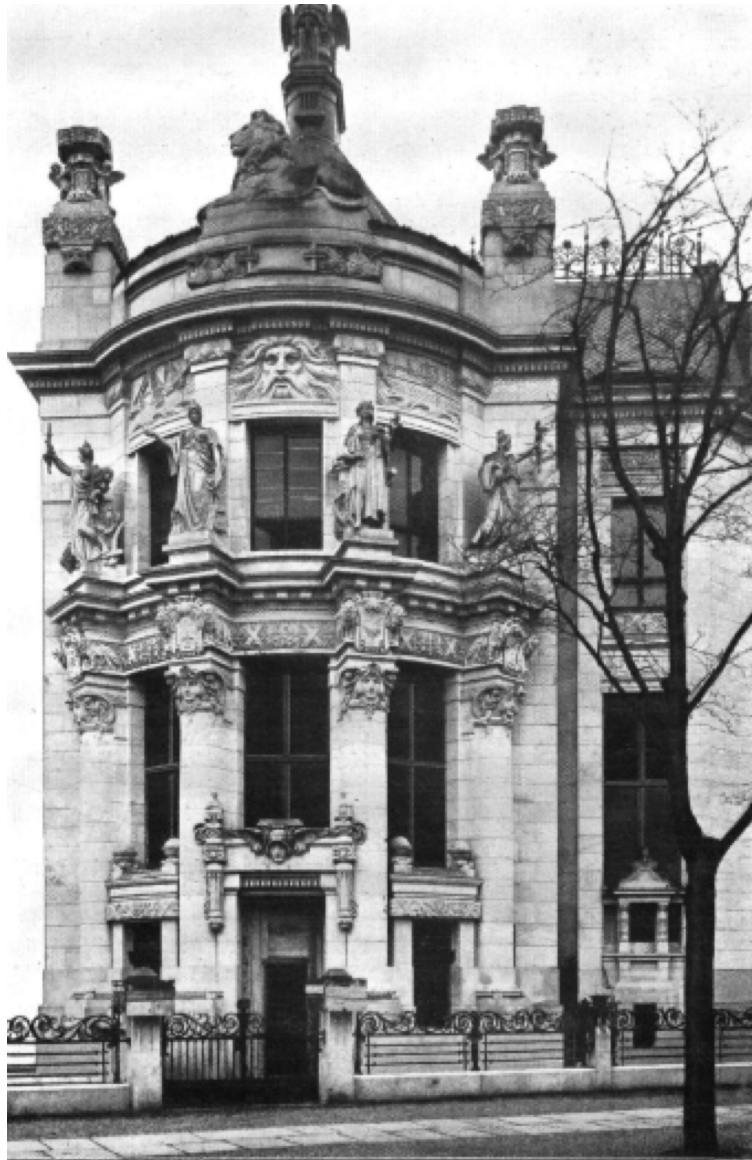
4.8. Otto Rieth and Max Koch, Photograph



4.9. Otto Rieth and Max Koch, Photograph



4.10. Franz Metzner, Sculpture for Haus Rheingold, Berlin, 1905-07



4.11. Otto Rieth, Villa Staudt, Berlin, 1900



4.12. Otto Rieth, Villa Staudt, Berlin, 1900

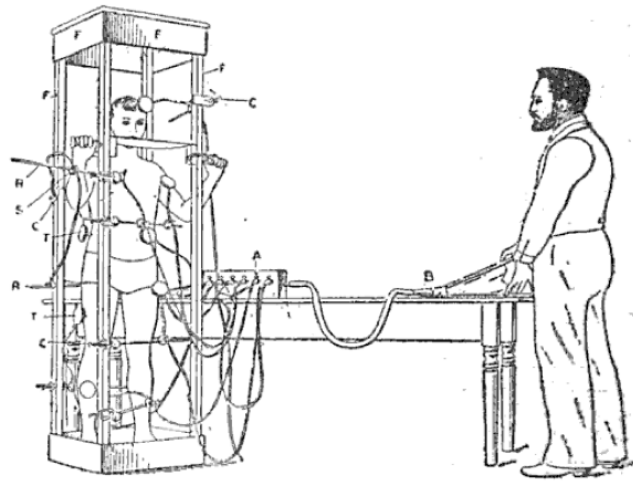


Fig. 93. APPARATUS FOR SIMULTANEOUS TOUCHES.

5.1. Apparatus for Simultaneous Touches

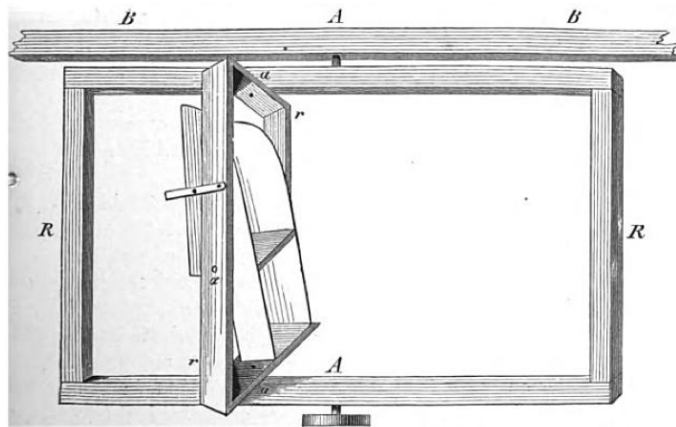


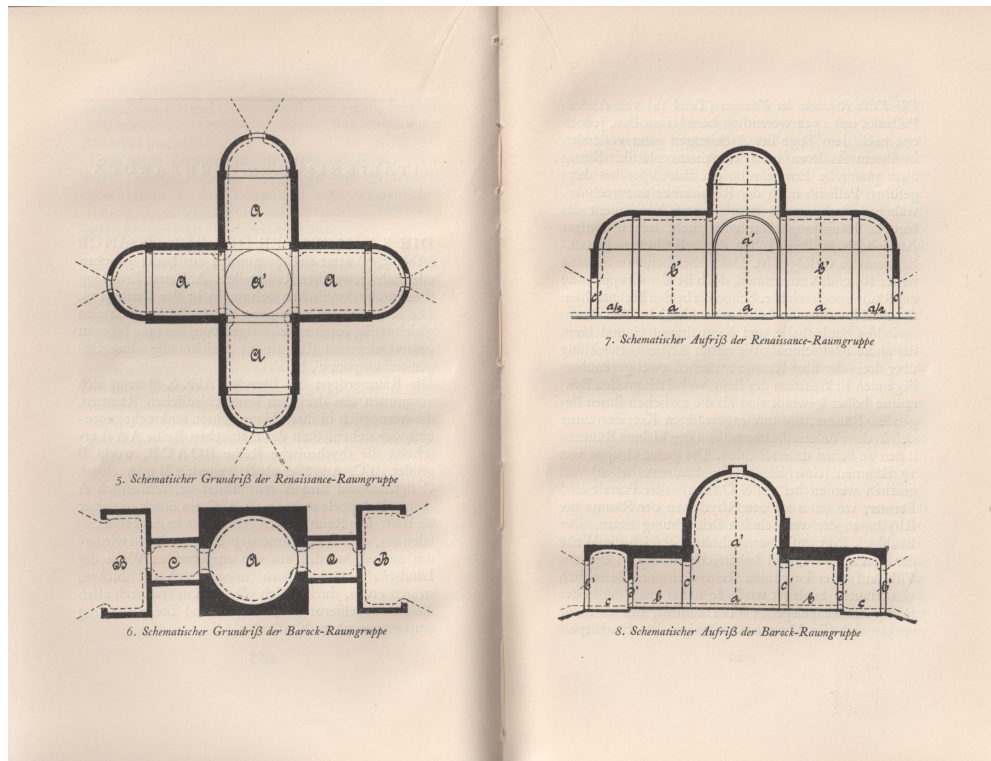
Fig. 92. THE ROTATION FRAME.

5.2. Rotation Frame

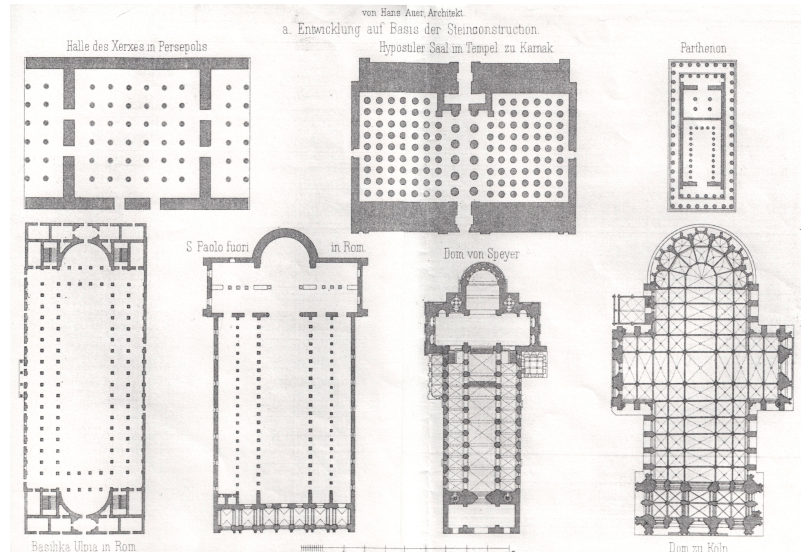


Fig. 1.

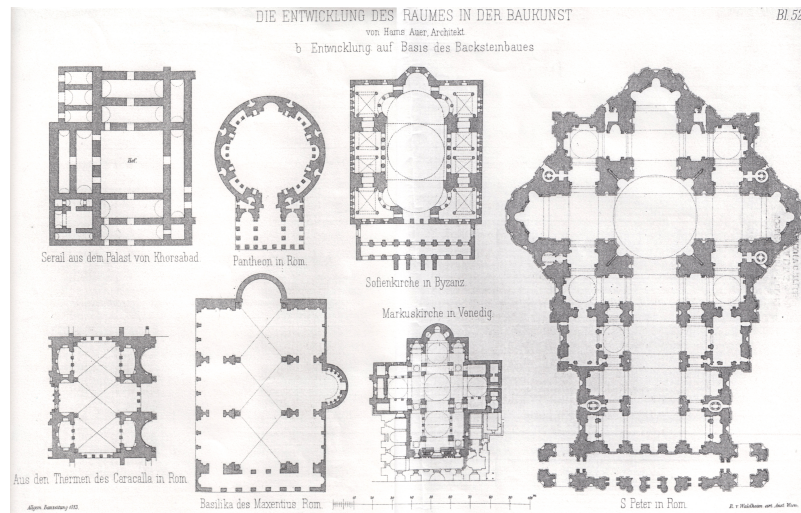
5.3. Ernst Mach, Self-Portrait Drawing; from Ernst Mach



5.4. Diagrams of Renaissance and Baroque Space



5.5. Hans Auer, Diagram of Spatial Types



5.6. Hans Auer, Diagram of Spatial Types



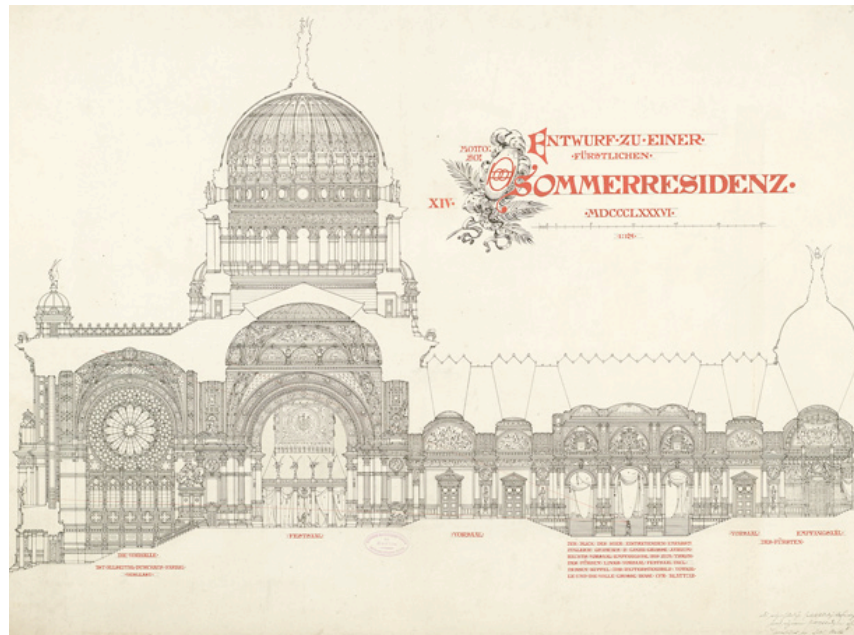
5.7. Otto Schmalz, Memorial for Selve Family, 1890



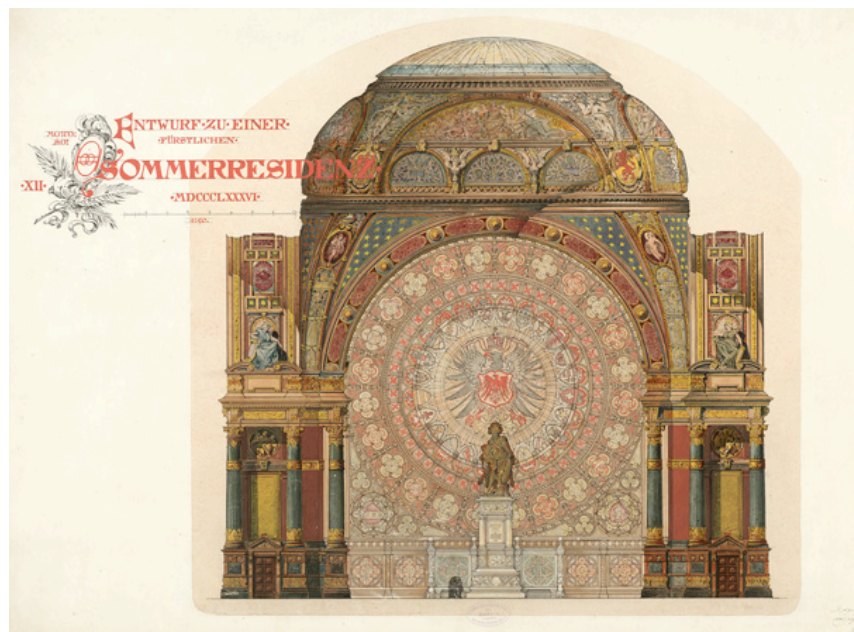
5.8. Otto Schmalz, Fürstliche Sommerresidenz Schinkel Competition, general view 1886;



5.9. Otto Schmalz, Fürstliche Sommerresidenz Schinkel Competition, elevation, 1886



5.10. Otto Schmalz, Fürstliche Sommerredidenz Schinkel Competition, section, 1886



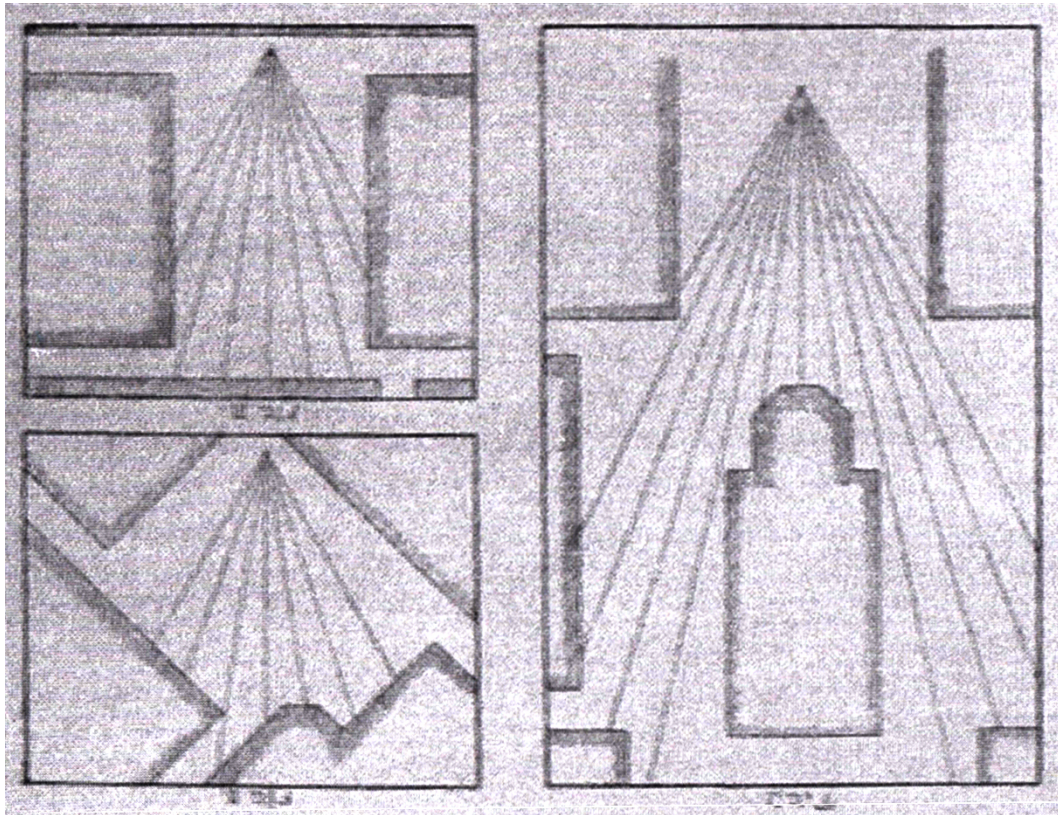
5.11. Otto Schmalz, Fürstliche Sommerredidenz Schinkel Competition, interior view, 1886



5.12. Adolf von Hildebrand, Reinhardbrunnen, Strasbourg, 1895-1918



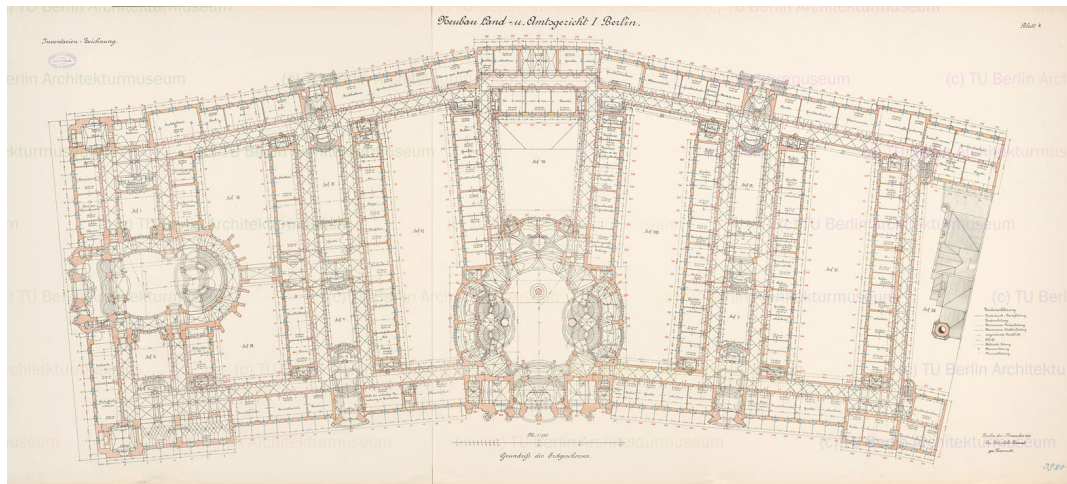
5.13. Adolf von Hildebrand, photograph of model in studio



5.14. Karl Hocheder, Spatial Diagrams



5.15. Paul Thoenes and Otto Schmalz, Main Facade,
Land- und Amtsgericht I, Berlin, 1894-1904



5.16. Paul Thoenes and Otto Schmalz, Plan, *Land- und Amtsgericht I*, Berlin, 1894-1904, Plan



5.17. Otto Schmalz, *Land- und Amtsgericht I*, Berlin, View of Stair Hall



5.18. Otto Schmalz, *Land- und Amtsgericht I*, Berlin, View of Stair Hall



5.19. Otto Schmalz, *Land- und Amtsgericht I*, Berlin, View of Stair Hall